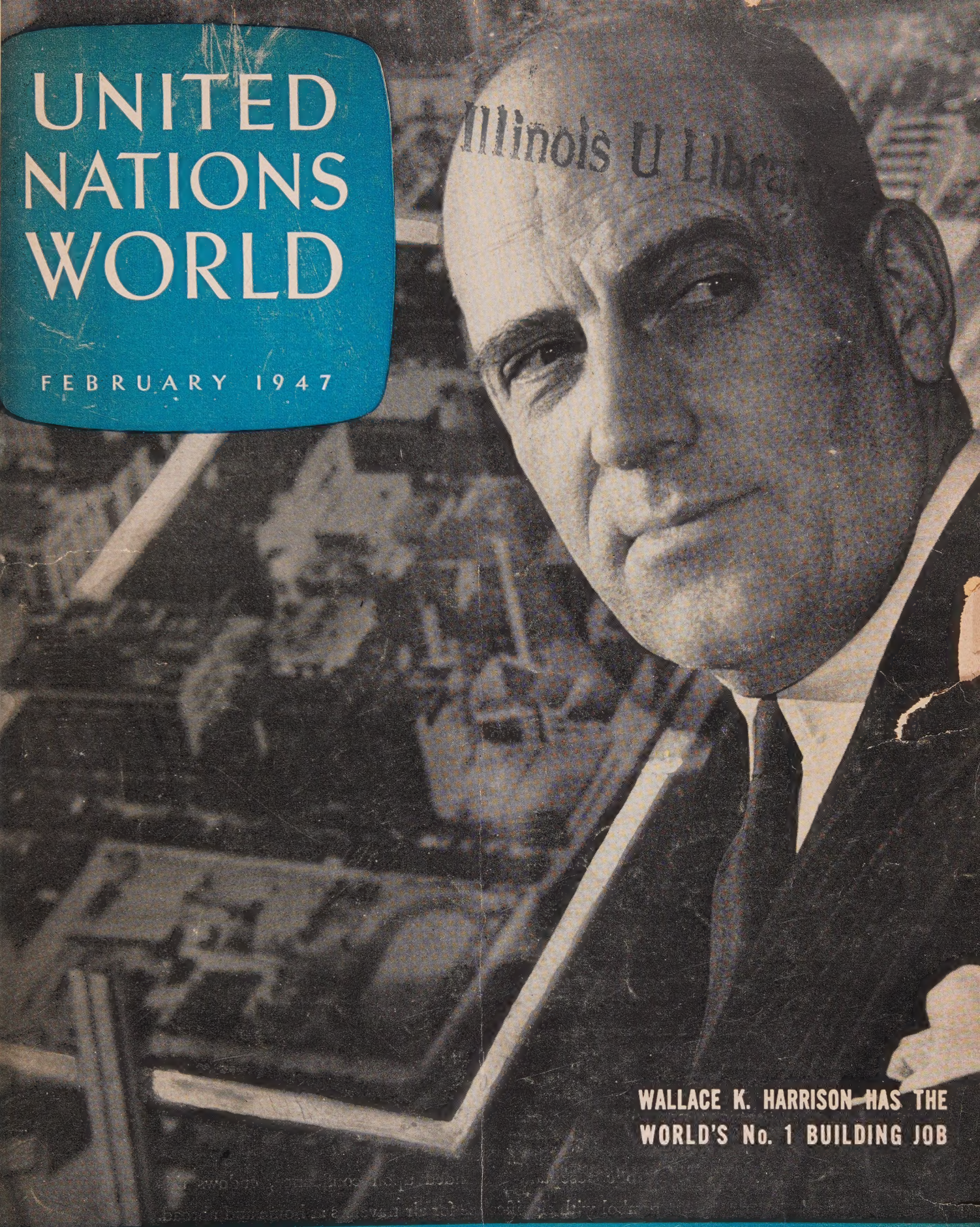
UNITED NATIONS WORLD

FEBRUARY 1947



WALLACE K. HARRISON HAS THE WORLD'S No. 1 BUILDING JOB

scientist ARTHUR H. COMPTON tells why he believes there will never be another war if this generation doesn't start one . . President BENES says: no war in immediate future and tells why . . . Nobel novelist PEARL BUCK explains world administration must get down to business or fail . . . Newly elected French Assembly president EDOUARD OT writes an exclusive article . . . M. R. Werner: a revealing biography of TRYGVE LIE . . . VINCENT N, CARLETON BEALS and others provide vital inside information and news of the world and of U. N.

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Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, addressed this special message of greeting to the United Nations World from El Salvador, one of the states he visited during his official tour through Central America and the Caribbean.

GREETINGS

To the United Nations World from the Secretary General of the United Nations

To the Editors of
UNITED NATIONS WORLD:

I have been most happy to learn of your project to establish this magazine in as many UN countries as possible. The concept of the first issue, the articles in it, and your plans for the forthcoming issues seem to me on the highest level of true international thinking.

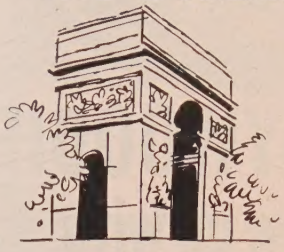
What has impressed me particularly is your effort to present in popular, simple, straightforward language the problems of the United Nations Organizations and of the peoples of the world. I also like the fact that you are dealing not only with political questions but with economic, social, cultural, artistic and all other aspects of human activity which are of international interest. Ever since the San Francisco Conference we have all realized that without the support of public opinion, without the support of all mass media of information, particularly the press, radio and film, this great experiment in international cooperation cannot succeed.

The UN has been growing so fast that a magazine devoting itself exclusively to such purposes is highly pertinent. You can, and will, I hope, in your independent magazine do an important job of interpretation, orientation, suggestion and guidance.

TRYGVE LIE
Secretary General of
The United Nations.

FRANCE CALLS YOU

CAN'T YOU COME THIS SUMMER?



Ah, the magic of luggage labels! The gaudy stickers from Cannes and Nice—from Biarritz and Deauville! What memories they bring up . . .

Memories you may renew this summer, if you will. For France is calling her friends to come back. The pleasures and beauties you have known, they're waiting for you, now!

Come to our lovely mountains, to our shore. Travel our provinces—see our great chateaux and cathedrals, our wondrous exhibits and museums. Go to our theatres, to the opera, visit our casinos. All is in readiness—with service deft and pleasing as of yore.

Travel our straight white roads, our famed new Highway of Freedom to your battlefields in Normandy. Shop in a *grande maison*—or in a tiny shop "around the corner." Stop at your favourite hotel again . . .

Only in little ways will you find France has changed. Prices here, as everywhere, are a little dearer. Our menu may be slimmer—but our chefs are glorious! Our railroads "march" again and there are taxis . . . So come to Paris again this summer. *S'il vous plait!*

Don't miss the Paris Fair! (May 10-26). In August, the Boy Scouts of the world hold their Jambouree—The American Legion Pilgrimage to France is in September.

For hotel, plane or ocean reservations, see your travel agent. Consult *us* for further information about travel to or within France.

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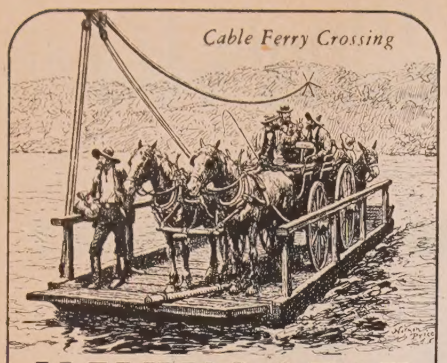

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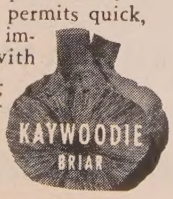


LIFE IN OUR WORLD

AN AMAZING COLLECTION OF ODDS AND ENDS HAVING TO DO WITH THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMANITY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

We have been talking to the delegates of 45 governments (out of the 55 members of the UN) and are happy to report the following reassuring facts:

80 per cent of the top delegates are monogamous
13½ per cent are polygamous*
6½ per cent wouldn't say

The average age of the chief delegates is 50 years and six months. However, if one counts subordinate officials it is considerably lower—40 years and four months. The average weight of all the delegates is 170 pounds, women excluded (subject too delicate for inquiries among the ladies). As regards religions, 40 per cent of the chief delegates are Roman Catholic, 20 per cent Protestant, 15 per cent Moslem, and 25 per cent Orthodox Christian, Buddhist, Brahman, non-believers and miscellaneous.

* * *

Most of Them Smoke

Sixty-five per cent of all the delegates are smokers. Of these 62 per cent prefer cigarettes (they are constantly changing American brands to sample flavors), 31 per cent smoke pipes and six per cent cigars, while one per cent is said to chew tobacco or take snuff—but not at public meetings. However, cigar smoking seems to have increased during the Assembly sessions, and many boxes of fine Havanas found their way into diplomatic pouches to be smoked in all corners of the world. Jewelry is in demand by all the delegates including permanent UN headquarters personnel as well as visiting Assembly members (10 per cent of the delegates expected to spend from $200 up to undisclosed amounts on baubles). Delegates also shop extensively for American clothing, typewriters, radios and household gadgets in short supply abroad.

* Although polygamy, chiefly found among the Arabs, has such a high representation among the top delegates—of which there are five for every nation—it is almost negligible (about 2½ per cent) in the membership of the General Assembly.

* * *

When in New York, 98 per cent of top delegates wear hats and two per cent turbans, but about 30 per cent plan to wear no headgear whatsoever in summer time, weather permitting. Sixty-five per cent prefer dark or blue suits; 30 per cent gray; three per cent brown; two per cent stick to their traditional draperies. Fifteen per cent of all delegates are seriously worried about air travel. When accidents occur, wives and mothers sometimes cable warnings against travel by plane. However, speed is so essential to the delegates, because of the frequent need to rush from one international conference to another, that none wants to give up flying. All are now hoping the airlines can prove to them by statistics that air travel is as safe as going by train or ship.

* * *

Educational standards are high. Most of the delegates have university degrees. Sixty-two per cent are professional diplomats, the rest from all other walks of life. Twelve per cent, at one time or another, have been in prison for political reasons during revolutions or for resisting the Nazis or colonial repression. Twenty-two per cent speak only their homeland languages, 78 per cent two languages or more. However, this does not ease the translation problem since delegates' additional languages are about equally divided between English and French, and not all know both. That is why two official working languages, English and French, were necessary for the UN.

* * *

Mirror of Our World

As regards politics, 88 per cent of the chief delegates say—"Well, we are what in America are called 'liberals'." But even by the broadest gauge one can hardly accept this description. In reality, their political orientations are about as follows:

Democratic free enterprise	24%
Democratic labor	9%

Democratic coalition with semi-planned economies	14%
Communist	5.5%
Leftist coalition	5.5%
Authoritarian with neo-fascist tendencies	20%
Constitutional monarchies (not including those with Labor governments)	9%
Feudal monarchies	5.5%
Conservative	5.5%
Undetermined	2%

Altogether—in habits, in customs, religions and politics—the delegates add up to a pretty faithful image of our world. But this nevertheless could be improved if the delegates were directly elected by the people.

* * *

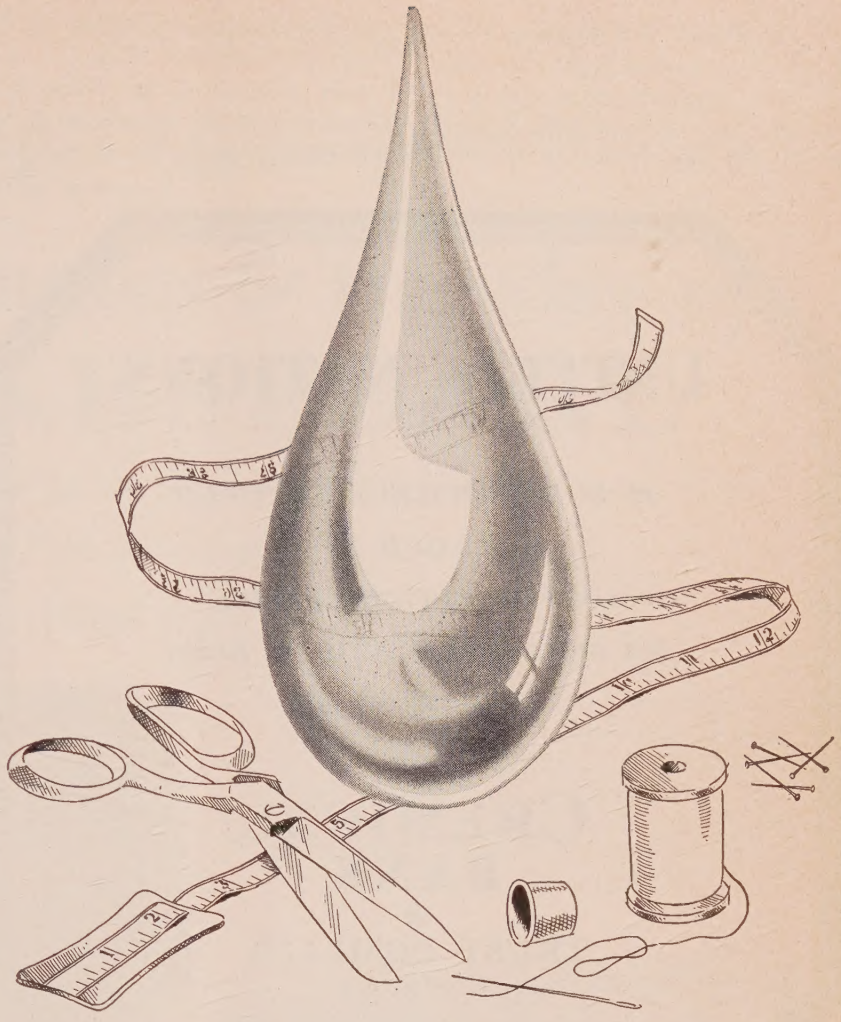
100 Years Hence

THE peoples of the Orient will double in number during the next century, Russia's population will rise to half a billion, while the United States will decrease by 40,000,000 according to the geographer, Prof. O. E. Baker. Giving these figures, he adds a warning to the United States: "Can 100 million people living in relative luxury, and with an abnormally high proportion of aged persons, keep out one or two billion people in the Orient possessing an industrial power many times greater than at present?" He argues that "a people who do not care to have children will gradually cease to exist."

* * *

ANYONE find a halo? Hirohito lost his. At least, this is how the former Son of Heaven stacks up to a Japanese newsman of Tokyo's *Asahi* who watched him tour the provinces—

> HIS appearance is sloppy. He always wears a business suit and a felt hat. He squeezes his tie too hard and one end of the collar always pops up. His hat is often worn sideways. He grabs his hat at the top and crushes it . . . He mutters a little. His voice is rather feminine. It shrills mechanically once in while . . . He takes care of himself. He shaves with a Gillette blade. He walks among his people like a pup. But I see old women still worship him. I question that.



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A Medal for Franco

NOTES from Franco Spain: The *Caudillo* appeared recently in a resplendent new uniform with a long-vizored stiff cap, boot-long overcoat and other features resembling the Nazi Wehrmacht officers' dress . . . Gen. Franco renamed as the *Plaza de El Salvador* a public square in the city of Leon in gratitude for El Salvador's opposition to the UN recommendation for withdrawal of ambassadors and ministers from Spain . . . From the city of Vitoria, Franco and the six Latin American countries which opposed the UN resolution received a special medal.

* * *

POLITICAL prisoners held by Franco in the Provincial Prison of Madrid and its labor detachments number over 2,600. Of these, 467 are under sentence for "Marxist rebellion", including 406 doing 30-year terms; 813 for sinning against the "safety of the state", and 13 for the "crime" of freemasonry. The Madrid provincial total is believed to be only a fraction of the total number of political prisoners held throughout Spain.

* * *

"And Form One Family"

THE British have officially changed one stanza of their national anthem, "God Save the King," so as to replace thunderous notes of nationalism with nobler strains of internationalism.

The old version—

O Lord our God arise
Scatter our enemies
And make them fall.
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks...

The new one—

Nor on this land alone—
But be God's mercies shown
From shore to shore.
Lord make the nations see
That men should brothers be,
And form one family
The wide world o'er.

* * *

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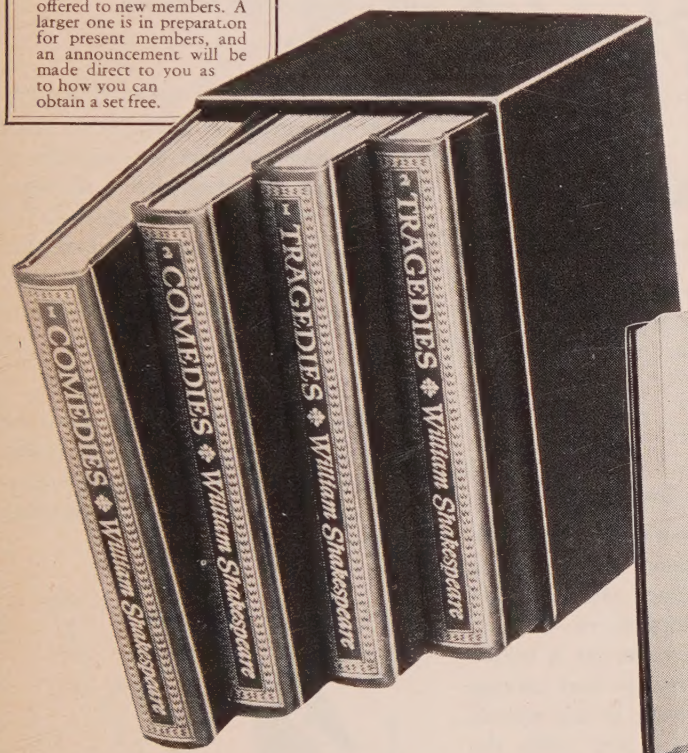

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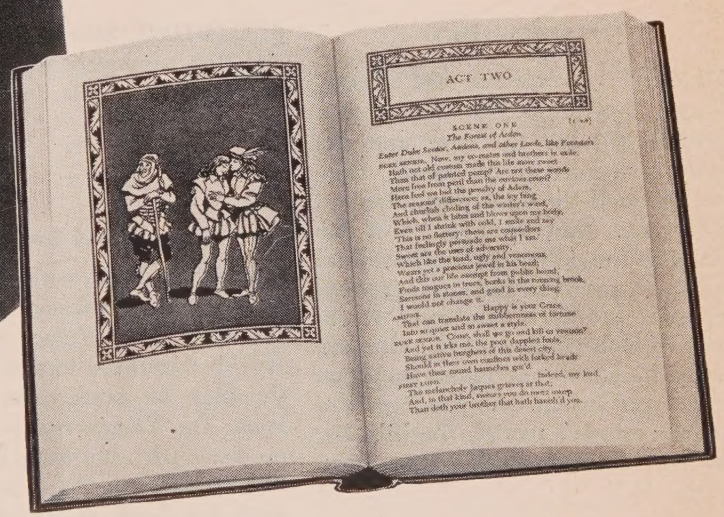

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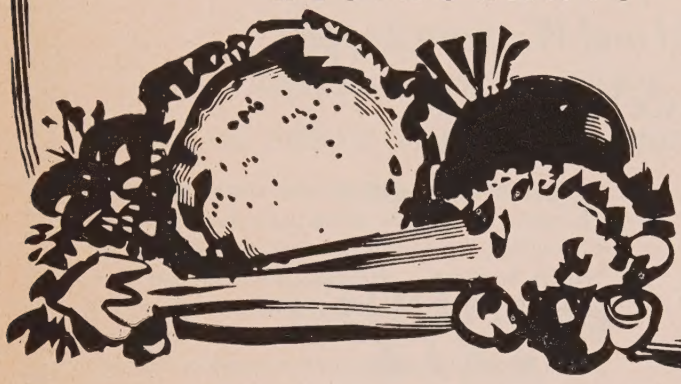

GI Baby Bill

THE U. S. government has already paid a $100,000,000 doctor and hospital bill for the care and delivery of a million GI babies. Doctors, through the American Medical Society say, that their share of the bill—$50 for delivery, one postnatal and three prenatal visits—is too low and that the time has come to do away with the limit on their charges. At the height of the emergency maternity and infant care program, the government was paying the bills for one out of every seven babies born in the U. S.

* * *

PROMISING support has quickly come forward for one of the most novel resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly—asking the Secretary-General to examine possibilities of collecting one day's wage from workers in all member nations to help carry on UNRRA's relief work. Norway's employer groups and Federation of Trade Unions have already lined up. The World Federation of Trade Unions is expected to follow suit soon. Sponsored in UN by the Norwegian delegation, the proposal would bring in $100,000,000. Some labor circles suggest that employers should follow the workers with similar contributions of a day's earnings.

* * *

New Blood for France

SCORCHED by two wars in a generation, and weakened further by a low birth rate, France—turning Old World traditions topsyturvy—is now shopping for immigrants on a major scale. The French realize that jazzing up the birth rate, even if this proves feasible, will nowhere near solve the need for fresh young population to boost agriculture and industry. Conservative sources believe that more than a million adult immigrants, both men and women, should be added to the country's present 40,500,000 population in the next few years. A start has already been made in the pending French-Italian agreement under which 200,000 workers from over-populated Italy may stream into France this year at a 17,000-a-month clip. Already, interim arrangements have been made for 13,000 Italians, 5,000 of them coal-miners, to enter France at once.

* * *

POLICE in Southern Rhodesia seldom have trouble these days with ebony-skinned outlawed witch doctors. But recently they caught up with a white one. A European, one F. A. Britz, he was found peddling the charms of a large wooden crocodile, plus herbs, fish and assorted potions and powders made of crushed shells, to African women complaining of barrenness, lost goats and other troubles. The law let him off with a suspended sentence.

* * *

PEOPLE in the U. S. spent $520,000,000 for candy, on a wholesale price basis, during the first ten months of 1946. Commenting on this, a delegate of one of the smaller nations at the UN said that if his country had that amount to carry its entire annual budget for ten years, it would become a paradise on earth.

* * *

OF the 2,079,294 veterans who are continuing their education under GI Bill of Rights only 1,146 are studying abroad—705 in the Philippines and 441 elsewhere.

* * *

AUSTRALIA plans to turn its aborigines into modern craftsmen. Schools to teach them trades will be set up throughout Australia.

* * *

THE best equipped geo-physical observatory in the southern hemisphere—established in 1918 at Waterloo, in Western Australia, by the Carnegie Institute of Washington, D. C.—has been turned over to the Australian government by the Institute as a gift.

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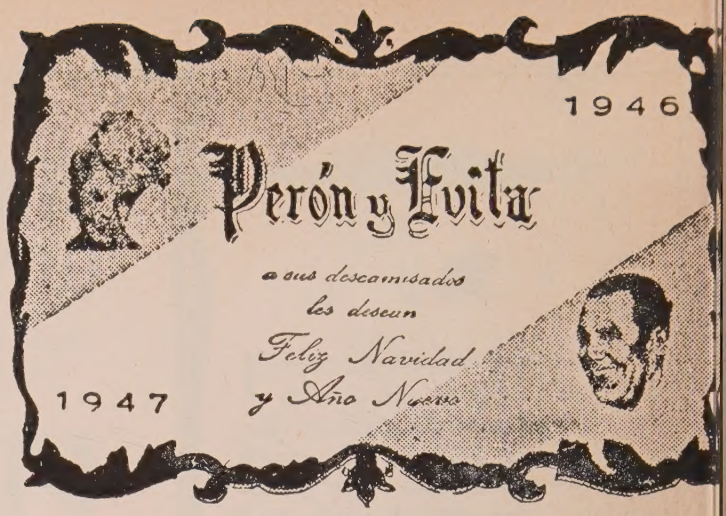
PERÓN is nothing if not thorough in bolstering his influence among Argentine workers. Along with his wife, he distributed 1,000,000 gift packages to the "Descamisados" (Shirtless Ones) at Christmastime, bearing a ticket saying "PERON & EVITA: to their Descamisados, wishing them Merry Christmas and Happy New Year" (see cut). Each package contained a bottle of domestic champagne, a large Christmas cake called Pan Dulce, other items of food and toys for the children.



The Peróns' Christmas Card

* * *

Soviet Baptists

BAPTISTS the world over have received good news from Russia —60,000 Soviet citizens were baptized into their faith last summer while a new school for Baptist preachers is to be opened in the U.S.S.R. Soviet Baptists are faring much better this winter because their American friends are sending them large shipments of warm clothing for orphan children. Each garment has had sewn into it a label indicating that it comes from Baptist churchgoers in the U. S.

* * *

FOR the first time, Mexican women can now vote and run for office in countrywide municipal elections. But they still are barred from national polls. Explaining the step, which he himself sponsored by introducing the necessary legislation in Congress, President Miguel Alemán paid the women a slightly ambiguous compliment—as municipal officials, he said, they could contribute valuable special knowledge on community requirements without needing the political ability called for in national affairs.

Chinese Liberals in U. S.

A CHAPTER of the Chinese Democratic League has been established in the United States. It is affiliated with the League's organization of liberals in China, and is quietly making contacts with American liberals in the hope that they will "urge their government to make the urgent and necessary change in its policy toward China before it is too late." The chairman, an American-born Chinese and U. S. citizen, is Dr. Arthur W. Chung.

* * *

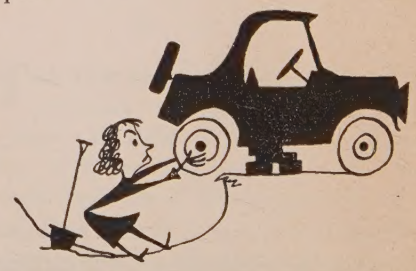
OF China's budget for 1947, more than 40 per cent will go for military expenses, only about 16 percent for reconstruction and less than four percent for education.

* * *

THE Congress majority in Madras plans a bill imposing a fine of $350 or imprisonment or both for refusing Untouchables admittance to restaurants, village wells and similar places.

* * *

GO motoring in China at your own risk! Here's an anecdote from Ida Pruitt, field director of the American Committee for Aiding Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, about a blowout she sustained on her recent 10,000-mile tour in China: "We had no jack. The several dozen cars that passed in the next few hours had no jacks either. Finally we had to dig a hole under the wheel so that we could put on the spare."



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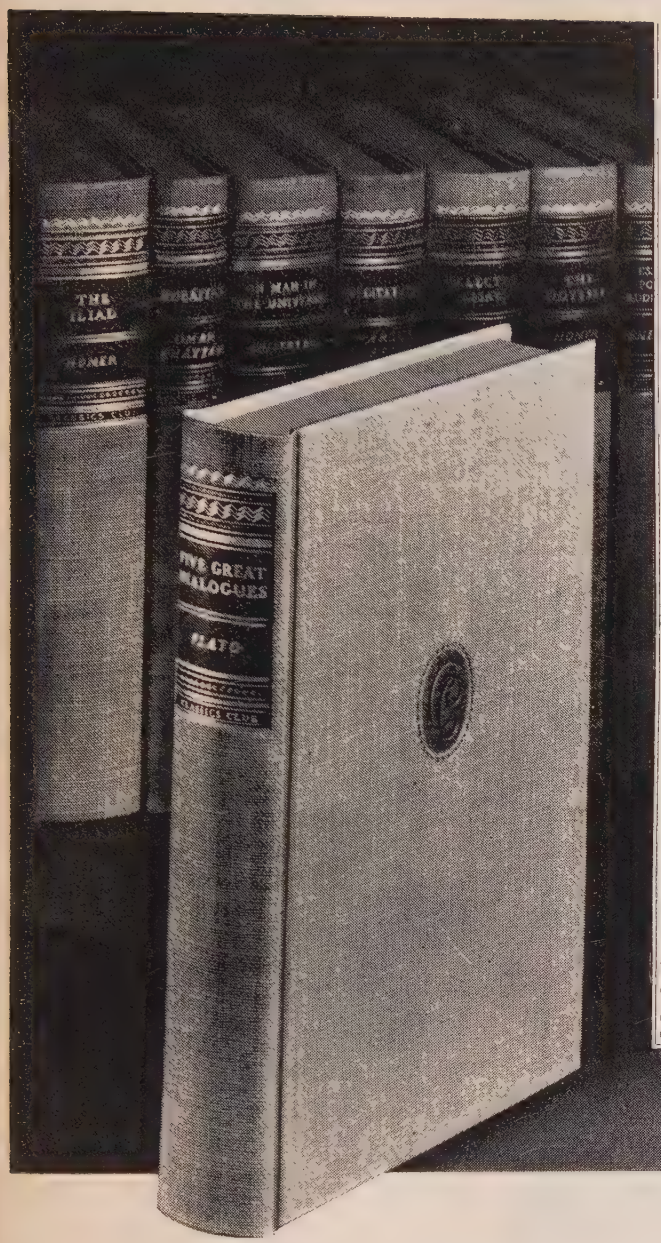

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CHILE, a claimant to part of Antarctica since 1938, has jumped squarely onto the Polar bandwagon now that the region has been mentioned as a possible source of uranium. An issue of 7,500,000 postage stamps bearing a map of "Chilean Antarctica" has been ordered by the government.

* * *

TO BOOST Argentina's agriculture and industry, President Juan D. Peron of Argentina wants immigrants, and quickly—to the tune of 500,000 in 1947 and 5,000,000 in five years. Opposition liberal groups favor immigration but disagree with Peron on at least one point: he has announced that preference will be given to Spaniards, Italians and Germans, thus opening the way for a possible influx of Fascist elements.

* * *

TO run his Five-year Plan, President Perón has appointed José Figuerola, onetime henchman of Primo de Rivera, Spanish dictator from 1923-30. Named in the U. S. Blue Book as an expert in setting up fascist-type labor unions, Figuerola helped Perón reorganize the Argentine unions along corporate lines.

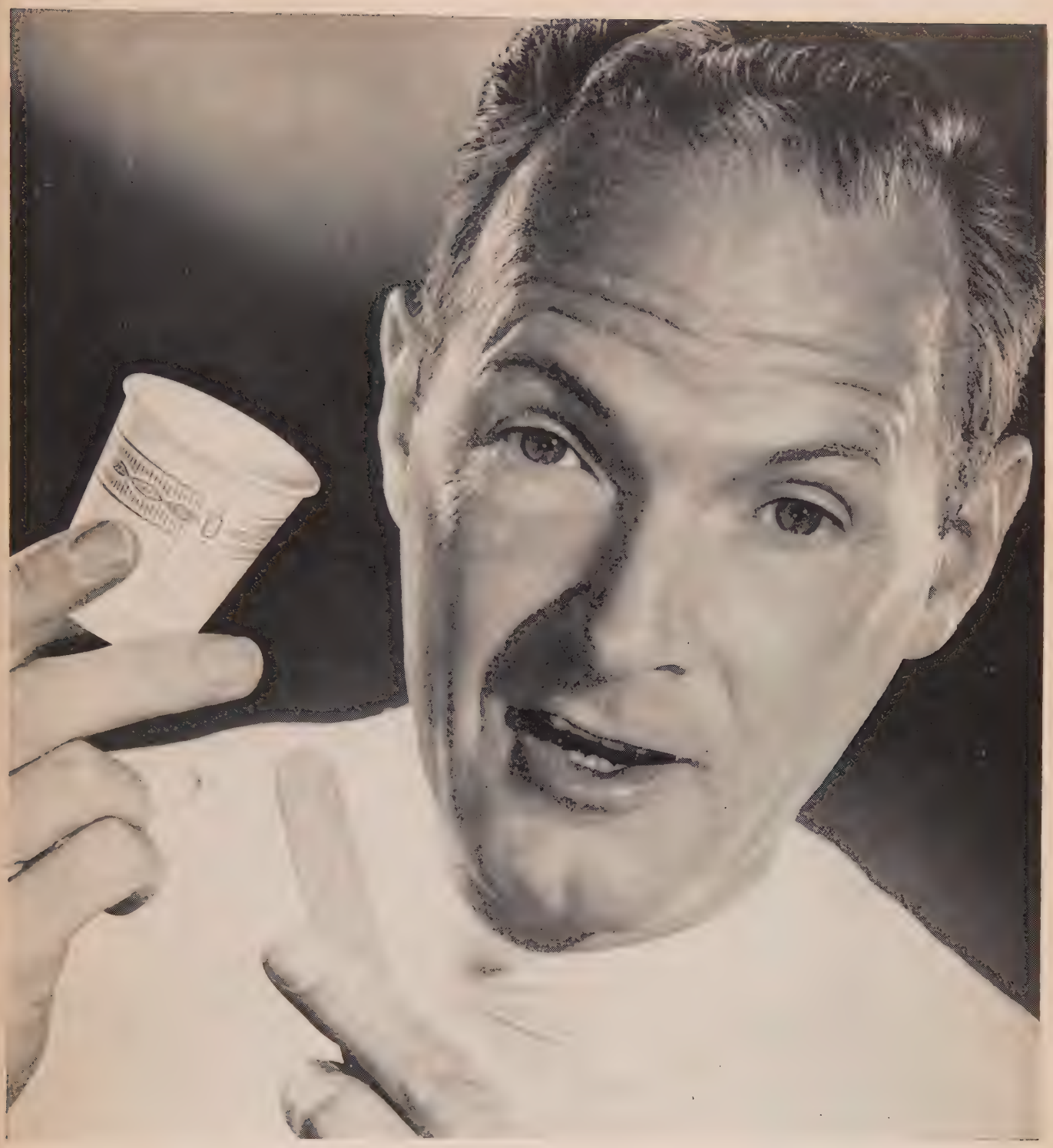
* * *

ON the heels of the $500,000 of clothing and food it sent Norway during the Nazi occupation, American Labor Relief has since showered King Haakon's gallant little land with the following gifts: Equipment for ten mother-and-child health centers and ten industrial clinics; six ambulances; four trucks; complete sets of kitchen equipment, plus towels, linens and children's clothes, for 500 families.

* * *

Jobs for Disabled Tommies

BRITAIN is taking good care of its disabled war veterans. Firms with twenty or more employees must set aside at least three per cent of their payroll for the purpose of employing handicapped Tommies. This is part of



"greatest little 'cold-stoppers' in the world... DIXIE CUPS"

One of the best ways to avoid catching colds from others is to use Dixie Cups. Germ-free, individual Dixies break the possible chain of contagion resulting from mouth contact where the lips of others have touched... Then, too, things *taste* better in a Dixie because you *know* the cup is clean.

the Disabled Persons Employment Scheme of the Ministry of Labor, which has docketed 600,000 disabled veterans who are eligible for work. For those too seriously handicapped for ordinary occupations, the Disabled Employment Corporation, under the chairmanship of Lord Portal, former chief of Britain's Air Staff, has projected 50 factories all over Britain which will provide special work. Three are already in operation.

* * *

HUMAN hair worth nearly $2,000,000 was cut from the heads of Chinese peasants in Shantung last year and shipped to the United States to make hair-nets.

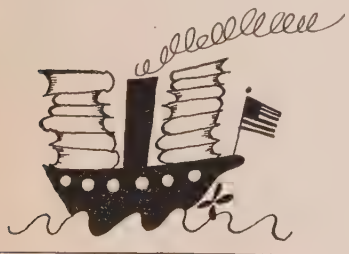
* * *

ETHIOPIA is reorganizing its public health program with the aid of the Russians. On the heels of a plentiful supply of medical equipment, Moscow is sending a mission that will help set up a general hospital and an outpatients' clinic in Addis Ababa. Soviet advisers will also supervise the establishment of a school for Ethiopian medical students, who later will be able to complete their advanced studies in Russia.

* * *

U. S. families with bulging bankrolls are rare according to an official report to the Federal Reserve Board. It reveals: one family out of every four has no savings whatsoever; less than one in five has $2,000 and up; only one in ten has $3,400 or more.

* * *



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How the United Nations World Came About

UN Secretary General Trygvie Lie, in his letter to UNITED NATIONS WORLD editors, points out that public opinion, based upon widespread public knowledge and interest, is essential to the continuing success of world organization.

It became evident early in UN discussions at San Francisco, London, Hunter College and later at Lake Success, that some sort of journal was necessary to keep people informed of progress of the United Nations, and to interpret the complicated developments that come about during the creation of this great cooperative world movement for peace and progress.

However, the need for such a journal could not overcome the obstacles in the way of producing an official publication. Obviously, an official publication would sooner or later become a Congressional Record on a grand scale, forced by circumstances to give equal importance to every delegate's utterances, regardless of the importance of the delegate or the usefulness of his utterance. An excellent achievement in this field was the creation by UN of The Weekly Bulletin in many languages. However, this still did not resolve the problem of mass audience.

When discussions about the projected UNITED NATIONS WORLD began, United Nations officials were quick to approve and to offer every facility to help make the project succeed.

Since this was to be the first magazine edited purely from an international standpoint, with little regard for national slants or sovereignties, it seemed reasonable that important sectional magazines might merge to make the foundation for this new publication. The three magazines chosen for this merger were Asia, which for twenty-eight years has served the American reading public with good and reliable information concerning the Orient; the Inter-American, which has established a fine readership, a loyal business following, and an excellent reputation in all the Americas; and finally, Free World which for five years has been a meeting place for many of the great international minds, and which was regularly published in separate localized editions in nine of the nations which subsequently united in the Charter.

The readers of the three magazines agreed with enthusiasm to accept the new magazine in place of the one they were in the habit of reading. The circulation of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD starts with 65,000.

In its own way, the merger of the three magazines provided a vest pocket edition of all the struggles experienced in the establishment of the UN. Each of the magazines' editors was eager from the first to join forces—provided his magazine kept control and determined the policies of the new one. There was a battle for individual sovereignty that dwarfed anything seen at Lake Success or Flushing Meadows. But as in the recent assembly, problems eventually came to a head, various participants walked out and walked back in again, and the practical, workable and highly effective compromise was reached.

The three magazines also concluded an arrangement for closest cooperation with the World Federation of United Nations Association. In short, sessions that lasted far into the night eventually brought out the startling truth that all three magazines were trying to do the same thing and they could do it better together.

That is how the UNITED NATIONS WORLD came to be.

THE MAN ON THE COVER

Wallace Harrison has called in architects of all nations to help plan the United Nations city-within-a-city in New York. Photo, with UN site in background, was taken for UNITED NATIONS WORLD by Martin Munkacsi.

THE CARTOONIST

ROBERT OSBORN, former naval Lieut. Commander (see page 16), is the famous creator of Dilbert, the funny cartoon pilot who did everything wrong. He is also author of the recent book, "War Is No Damned Good".

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

VOL. 1, NO 1.
FEBRUARY 1947

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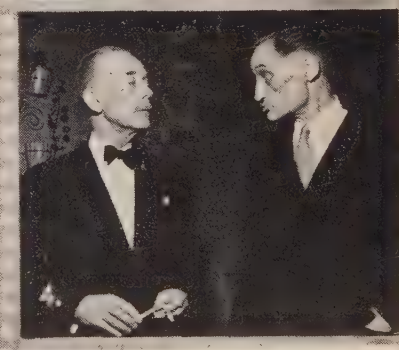
U.N.W. NEWSREEL



1. *Baruch, who won atomic debate, greets Gromyko, who lost*
2. *H.R.H. Emir Faisal ibn Aziz chats with Nelson Rockefeller*
3. *The Saudi Arabian delegate with the Duke of Windsor*
4. *Britain's Cadogan talks to France's Bonnet*

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW: WORLD STATESMAN PRESIDENT BENES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA SAYS:

"There will be no war now or in the near future.

"There is no great power which could or would start a new war . . . (It) could mean for England the end of the empire, for the United States a catastrophe . . . The Soviet Union is certainly in need of peace . . . to rebuild her devastated areas.

"Germany has not yet changed . . . She is not ripe yet for any definite political structure.

"The atomic bomb can never be the decisive weapon many people believe . . . In the beginning (it) will have a terrific impact, but very soon new defensive weapons will be invented.

". . . If I were an American statesman . . . I would do all in my power to reach a sincere and complete agreement with the Soviet Union . . . If I were a Soviet statesman, I would work exactly in the same way for an agreement with the United States."

By Leo Lania, UN World Correspondent

FROM the Hradschin, the ancient castle which overlooks and dominates Prague, the view on the snowbound city is as breath-taking as ever. But the Hradschin has a new master. The last time I was here one of the few great men of Europe lived and worked here: Thomas Garrague Masaryk. Today, Masaryk's "young assistant" lives in the Hradschin. The young Dr. Eduard Benes belongs now himself to the old generation. And yet, spiritually he has not changed. He speaks with the familiar old and ever young voice of true unadulterated democracy. The explanation for this seeming paradox?

"I am an optimist!" says President Benes. "Of one thing I am absolutely certain: there will be no war now or in the near future."

I asked the President for his views on the United Nations. First he pointed out something that is little realized in the United States—that the General Assembly debates and other UN meetings have not been adequately reported in the European press due to "the terrible shortage of newsprint and paper", which limits all newspapers in Britain, France and Czechoslovakia to a few pages. Hence he had only just begun to study the full official reports. But he went on to draw a contrast between the old situation and the new—

"In the old Geneva League, we were haunted all the time by the fear of the threatening war. So we thought we had to move and to act fast, but since there will be no war —at least not in the near future— we will have time to build solidly and carefully the new world organization, adapting the lessons we learned from Geneva and avoiding errors and mistakes we made there.

"The UN must be built from the bottom, not from the top. And one thing is already clear: gradually the UN is taking root in the minds of the people and in the political conscience and the life of the world. This is already a great achievement."

I asked: "But should we not move faster and with more determination toward a world government?"

"We must begin from the beginning," Dr. Benes said. "I believe today, as I have all through my life, in gradual progress. The world is not ripe yet for world government. The people have not yet reached that stage. Advocating this goal now could only jeopardize our eventual goal."

"What would you then, Mr. President, regard as the next most important steps in the international field? Do you believe in Mr. Churchill's plan of a European Federation?"

THE President spoke deliberately: "Mr. Churchill's plan is in my opinion premature. The masses of Europe will not accept such a plan because they realize that an organization without the Soviet Union could develop as an organization against the Soviet Union, even if Mr. Churchill did not wish for that. And for that reason, his plan got in certain countries of Europe a hostile reaction.

"The federation of Europe will not be brought about in the manner Mr. Churchill advocates, but through the ever-closer cooperation of nations: two or three countries will gradually grow closer together, becoming a nucleus for other nations which would join them, and through economic cooperation they will be drawn and bound together politically too. But all that will be a long process."

"And in the meantime?"

"In the meantime, before starting with these grandiose schemes for 'world government' or 'European federation' we must tackle the most urgent problems, which must be solved in order to eliminate international powder kegs and to clear the path towards the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the world. For instance: the problem of Germany, the unification of China, the Jewish question etc. Those are the problems for which we must find some solution now."

I switched the questioning to the subject that is uppermost in everyone's mind today now that the foreign ministers will shortly take it up at Moscow: "And how should the German problem be solved? All the big powers have a different approach. Do you, Mr. President, favor the Russian or the British, the French or the American plan?"

"First of all," he answered, "I want to caution against any attempt to create or organize Germany on a definite political basis now, immediately. Germany has not yet changed. She is not ripe yet for any definite political structure. I would advocate an economic reconstruction, preserving Germany economically as a unit, but in the political field I would move very slowly. And Germany is surely not ripe yet to be taken into consideration as a partner in any European settlement."

Pointing to the differences between the west and east, as far as Germany's future is concerned, I returned again

to Dr. Benes' emphatic statement about the impossibility of another war. What were the reasons for his opinion?

"There is no great power which could or would start a new war," he said. "A new war could eventually mean for England the end of the empire, for the United States a catastrophe with unforeseeable social, economic and political consequences. The Soviet Union is certainly, as much as any other country, in need of peace, in order to rebuild her devastated industries and to continue with her work of reconstruction. I do not believe that wars happen. There must be a determined will to wage war on the part of a country, the belief that by waging this war the particular nation would gain advantages. There will be no advantages to be gained from a coming war and no victors."

"And the atomic bomb?"

"As terrible as this weapon is, I share the opinion of Marshal Stalin, who pointed out that the atomic bomb can never be the decisive weapon many people believe. In the beginning the atomic bomb will have a terrific impact, but very soon new defensive weapons will be invented, which we cannot foresee now, and the war will surely not be decided by the atomic bomb alone."

TAKING up the political problems of Europe of today, I asked the President: "Is fascism really dead?"

"Fascism is not dead, because it is a permanent danger. There is only a very short step from good old-fashioned conservatism to fascism." He added with a smile: "And since nazism and fascism have adopted many socialistic features there could be too a very short step from certain kinds of socialism or communism to Nazi totalitarianism, as you saw it in Germany. Fascism is an inherent psychological tendency of the human spirit. That means it can only be eradicated through education and hard work. It is a long process to root it out."

"And anti-Semitism?"

"There is no Jewish problem in Czechoslovakia." President Benes pointed to the assistance the Czech Government gave to the Jews fleeing from Poland. This attitude on the part of the authorities, so he declared, reflected the inner feelings of the Czechoslovak people. Turning to the Jewish problem as a whole, the President said emphatically:

"The Jewish state in Palestine should be created. One way or the other, with or without partition, but a solution can be found only on the basis of a Jewish state. This solution should be brought about immediately, if it is possible. As far as Czechoslovakia goes, our people are democratic-minded and basically not anti-Semitic."

INFORMED that I had just returned from Slovakia, where I visited the cooperatives the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has helped to build and organize for the surviving Jews, Dr. Benes paid high tribute to the "Joint":

"This kind of work, going beyond mere charity, is not only benefiting the Jews themselves, but is a very important contribution toward the strengthening of democracy, bringing about better understanding between Jews and non-Jews, a noble piece of economic, as well as spiritual, reconstruction of our country."

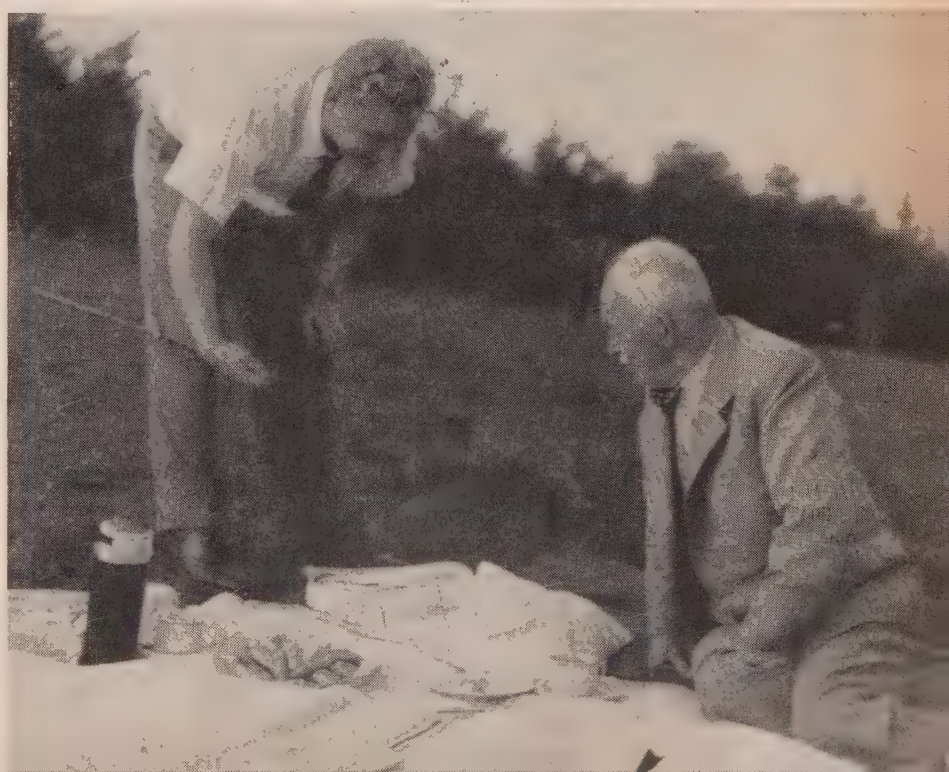
I went on: "As an old friend of America, and at the same time a very good European, what advice would you give, Mr. President, to America to improve her prestige in Europe, which was a few years ago very high and which has now depreciated to a great extent?"

"I do not want to give any advice. But if you ask me what I would do if I were an American statesman, I would say that I would do all in my power to reach a sincere and complete agreement with the Soviet Union. I must add that if I were a Soviet statesman, I would work exactly in the same way for an agreement with the United States."

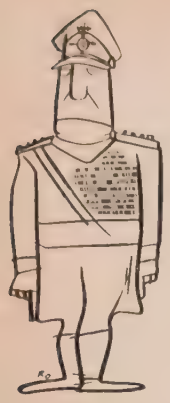
"That means, you believe that such a complete and sincere agreement is possible?"

"There is no other choice. Without this agreement between Russia and America there surely will be no peace. Czechoslovakia is perhaps an example that there can be cooperation between Communists and non-Communists. We are so-called Westerners by culture. For more than ten centuries we have been part of western civilization and culture. On the other hand, the Soviet Union is our neighbor and ally. We have a coalition government with the Communists as the strongest party and you have seen for yourself that Czechoslovakia has not betrayed a single principle, a single ideal of true democracy. You can buy all the newspapers of the world at every street corner of our cities. The battle of opinion is fought daily in our newspapers, we have no censorship and no police state.

"The west and the east can live together. If not, there is no *raison d'être* for us because in any war between the Soviet Union and the western powers, Czechoslovakia would be surely destroyed. The cooperation between the two ideologies which we have successfully brought about in our state—it must and it can succeed on the international scene."



President Benes picnicking with a friend on a Czechoslovak hillside.

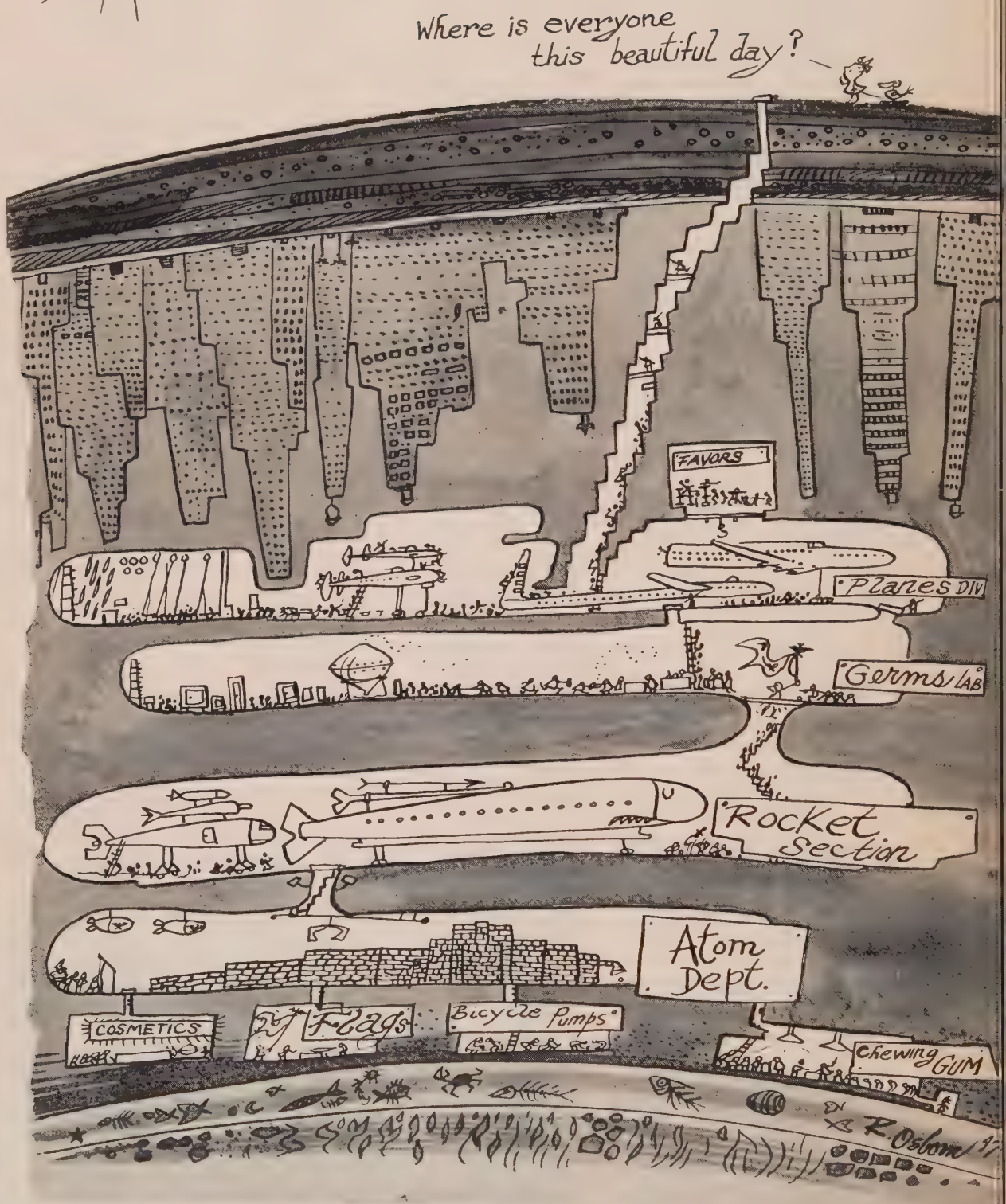


GEN. GRIM: Plots are everywhere. Everything is very serious. Only war can result. We must take steps.

HECTOR HOPELESS: You're right, General—we'll go underground and let the rest of the world go hang.

THE HUMAN RACE, 2047: My — how we've changed!

Press Note: General Robert W. Johnson, writing in Army Ordnance, suggests that all important factories be put underground. The title of his article is: Dig, Son, Dig.



. . . UNDERGROUND

Roundup

In a nutshell, these are the major political and economic developments of the last month:

The improvement in relations between Eastern and Western blocs which started last November at the Foreign Ministers' Conference and continued during the Assembly, is still the main topic of discussion all over the world. The U.S.S.R. and the other nations of the world are waiting for a definition of American foreign policy under Secretary Marshall with optimism.

The fires of freedom are alight in Southeast Asia. The hottest spot is Indo-China, where the Annamese and French are squared off for a long fight, with Cochin China simmering. Malaya and Burma are in ferment amid negotiations with the British.

China is headed for a coalition government between the Kuomintang and liberals on a 50-50 basis, but without Communist participation.

Latin America is in the midst of serious restiveness, with the Rightists on the offensive but encountering strong popular resistance. Peron's emissaries are active in Chile, Paraguay and Bolivia, trying to develop a Latin American Socialist (read National Socialist) diplomacy. The Apristas in Peru are in serious trouble. Venezuela, having overcome the last revolutionary attempt, is settling down to benefit by the new agreement with the oil companies with a 50 per cent share in profits.

In Europe, France's internal political situation has been definitely stabilized by the establishment of the constitutional instrumentalities of the Fourth Republic. The violent clash between the extreme Right and extreme Left which was expected for this month is off for the time being. The danger spot is still economics, with coal and inflation No. 1 problems.

In Britain, the shift in foreign policy along slightly more progressive lines, in order to head off the revolt in the Labor Party, is continuing. Improvement of relations with Moscow is the first target.

Italy is in a grave political and economic crisis. De Gasperi obtained in the U. S. only one-half of the strict minimum necessary to stave off starvation.

Germany is ploughing through her toughest winter, with renascent Nazi tendencies showing themselves more openly, particularly in the form of anti-Semitism. All eyes are turning with expectancy toward the March Conference of the Big Four foreign ministers in Moscow, which is to decide Germany's fate.

The Scandinavian countries are the most stabilized political factor in Europe. Poland and the Balkans are still deep in turmoil. Despite electoral victories, the various governments are looking for new popular backing through enlarged coalitions.

In India, Nehru is facing his most difficult time since he took power. Leftism, independent of the Congress Party, is making big strides and the Muslims have refused to give an inch on their Pakistan program.

In the Near East, the Arab League is meeting often but not making much progress toward an Arabian Federation. The Palestine tragedy, with its thousands of refugees knocking desperately at the doors of the promised but closed land, is still at its height.

China's Liberals

Some Shanghai newspapers, translating Gen. Marshall's report on what is wrong in China, did not dare to print his word "reactionaries," thereby proving part of his case. The Chinese "liberals," who gain much by Marshall's accolade, are not hard to find. Within the government party itself, the Kuomintang, they include, first of all, Dr. Sun Fo, the unassailable son of Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic. He has urged an immediate coalition of all parties. The liberals also include Wang Shih-chieh, the Foreign Minister; Shao Li-tse, former Ambassador to Russia, and Yu Ta-wei, Minister of Communications.

In other parties belonging to the Democratic League, which until now have been treated as mere splinter groups, notable liberal members are James Yen, famous in America for his Mass Education Movement, Mrs. Herman Liu, the veteran Chang Lan, chairman of the Democratic League, Dr. Lo Lung-chi, its spokesman, and—again—others whose names would be on the list if they need not fear the consequences.

But quite outside the parties, doing their own work in one field or another, free of any partisan affiliation, there are Y. W. Wong, the publisher, now Minister of Economics, Weng Wen-hao, head of the National Resources Commission, Chang Kia-ngau, industrialist, Lu Tso-fu, the genius of river shipping, Lin Yutang, wit and philosopher, and Kuo Mo-jo, author.

Oil and Murder in Peru

News of the murder of Francisco Graña Garland, editor of La Prensa, Lima's leading morning newspaper, shook all Peruvian circles early in January.

On the night of Jan. 7, as Graña got into his car, a man wearing a heavy grey overcoat with the collar turned up and hat brim pulled down, emptied a gun into him and got away. Graña died soon after reaching the hospital. Next morning La Prensa said that the murder was obviously political.

Graña's paper had criticized as "socialistic" some of the measures sponsored by the APRA-dominated goverment. The accusation started a battle between the conservative papers and the organ of the Peruvian People's Party (APRA).

On Jan. 11 the Aprista party brought libel suits against several newspaper editors and politicians who said that the party was involved in the crime. APRA leaders denied the charge that Graña was assassinated because he opposed APRA's proposal to grant a big oil concession to the International Petroleum Company.

A NEW PICTURE OF THE BOMB ACTUALLY DROPPING ON HIROSHIMA

ALLED TO GREATNESS

Arthur H. Compton, world famous physicist who helped plan the atom bomb, tells how it feels to share responsibility for it . . . and he says: "If we don't have war in this generation, there will be no more war."

FOUR years ago, on December 2, 1942, I stood in the University of Chicago laboratory where the first "chain reaction for release of nuclear energy was produced. Until that moment, the scientists who had been asked by President Roosevelt whether or not atomic energy could become a weapon of war, had not been able to give their answer. In that moment we knew that it could.

You may wonder what thoughts go through the scientist's mind on such an occasion: whether he is not weighed down by his sense of responsibility for the destructive power about to be placed in men's hands. I can answer that probably no group of men ever felt such deep responsibility as we. And yet we were grateful that we had this power in time to be used for the safety of the world. We had been terribly afraid that Hitler might get to it ahead of us.

On that day, as I glanced across at Italian physicist Enrico Fermi, who was directing the experiment, I read in his face joy of achievement combined with deep concern for the future. On the face of the young American engineer whom I had invited into the laboratory with me were written wonder and visions of great new horizons. And although not a word of what we had just seen could be told to the group of specialists waiting to confer on production plans, they undoubtedly read the story in our shining eyes.

Later that day I telephoned another scientist who had been waiting anxiously for the result, "The Italian navigator has landed in the New World!"

But this new world we were entering was vastly bigger than that Columbus discovered. It was bigger than the one the astronomers saw when, from their look-out on Planet Earth, they peered about them and found we were riding in an island universe composed of a million millions of stars, then looked beyond and counted millions of other such universes tearing madly away from us through space.

In our laboratory that day we were looking, I felt instinctively, on what was to become a tremendous "breakthrough" of the human spirit into a world of greater moral dimensions. Spiritual evolution, like physical evolution, does not seem to follow along year after year and century after century at a steady jog pace, but is characterized by sudden forward jumps. There was a moment—James Breasted, Chicago's late great Egyptologist, placed it at 3,000 B.C.—when the conscience of man was born. Whatever the date, it was the day when human beings, hitherto creatures and victims of their environment, first saw the possibility of using the things of the physical world and shaping them to their needs. Man's every conquest over his physical environment has demanded that he accept new responsibility in respect to his fellow men, and thus has placed him before new frontiers of the soul.

Don't you suppose that the man who first learned how to make fire must have been frightened by its implications? Don't you think the man who first held a sword in his hand must have vaguely realized his duty to use it in defense of human values?

RECENTLY there as been much talk to the effect that our knowledge and power are expanding faster than our moral sense. I do not believe it. Everything in our present day world seems to belie the statement. Rather, I believe that the Creator of our universe has, from the beginning, had a plan for shifting moral responsibility onto man's shoulders as fast as he can take it. The mechanism of the shift is increase of knowledge. That is the great propulsive force that pushes man inevitably to new heights and new strengths. The purpose is not to make man happy, but to make him great. With the raising of the curtain on the atomic age we have been called to unprecedented spiritual greatness.

Let us have a better look at this atomic power which is ours to use, as a weapon, and as a tool.

The man who consents to use a weapon must ask himself whether he is justified. And to answer that he must first ask something else: why do we

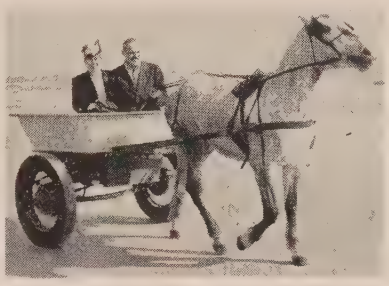
BY ARTHUR H. COMPTON

Arthur Holly Compton, handsome 54-year-old Chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., was the man picked by the War Department to head up one of the most vital phases of the "Manhattan Project." In the early days of this historic undertaking, he was made director of the metallurgical laboratory at the University of Chicago, in which much of the atomic bomb research was carried out. There he did brilliant work in the development of processes for production of the new material, plutonium, which is fundamental in the operation of the atom bomb. Previously Professor Compton, winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1927, was famous for his discoveries in the fields of X-rays and cosmic rays. Born at Wooster, Ohio, Professor Compton holds that it was right to use the atom bomb against Japan and thus bring to an abrupt end a war which was causing misery to millions. But he also believes that "the great destructiveness of atomic bombs makes it necessary for us to find a way to avoid war." In that great task Professor Compton is already playing an important role as a U.S. delegate to UNESCO. In this capacity he attended the first full-fledged UNESCO conference in Paris at the end of last year.

place such high value on human life?

The survival of the species is the biological imperative that stands behind the injunction "Thou shalt not kill", yet that also permits us to defend our lives. Yet when we speak of the *value* of human life, we are thinking of quality as well as quantity of human beings. For life to have value, there must be beings able to judge values, and such beings are themselves the basis of values. All other things have value either because they contribute to the existence of these beings, or because they are valued by them.

The humanist approach to morals lies through the cultivation of human beings able to judge what things contribute to human happiness, and, because they can make such judgments, able to pursue and attain the objects that give satisfaction. The "free" man is the man who can choose clearly, and who has means of making his choice effective. And the highest good the humanist knows is to foster the development of such free men, until their numbers shall embrace all humanity.



The Comptons at the seashore

As a variant to this humanistic approach stands the theory that not all can belong to the group able to judge values, and that it is better to cultivate a small elite of superior individuals who are "free," while the remainder either contribute to their comforts and satisfaction as serfs, or are, if superfluous, eliminated. Such thinking lay behind old notions of aristocracy; more recently behind the theories that inspired Hitler.

There is also a point of view which places the source of value judgments, not in man, but in God. Because God considers man of such great value, all human life has worth. All men are our brothers, and we cannot stand idle while Jews are murdered, while Hitler's forces run through Europe with the intent of reducing humanity to the status of slaves. There is one important difference that must be marked between this view and that of the humanist. The freedom the humanist seeks for himself and others relies on judgment of the values that can make man *happy*; the freedom of the man who believes in God relies on values his conscience reveals to him as those considered important by God. He is concerned with the *good* life.

It is an awful thing to kill men, women and children with an atomic bomb. It is part and parcel of the terrible evil which is war itself, and which it must be our major purpose to outlaw. Yet could we refuse to protect the highest values of mankind, trampled under foot in this war; could we resign millions of men and women to slavery to evil, to loss of all freedom to live for those things they consider right? War, not the atomic bomb, placed us before this alternative. And the consciences of many who hated war told them they could not escape its horrors and its pain because it represented a responsibility they were called on to bear. They must weigh the value of the lives lost against the values for all humanity which might be lost forever.

The primary objective of civilized nations obliged to wage a war is not to kill people, but to destroy the enemy's will to resist. To do this, it is necessary to strike at warmaking power or potential; in modern warfare this is often best accomplished by damaging factories and transportation lines rather than by annihilating armies.

The atomic bomb as a weapon is simply a more powerful and more economical weapon. It does the same things that other bombs do, but with its immensely higher destructive power it takes the place of whole squadrons of planes bearing incendiary or explosive bombs. It kills innocent people precisely as do ordinary bombs, though perhaps in higher percentage to the material damage.

The scientists who helped to develop the atomic bomb were deeply swayed by this consideration. But they realized too that this more powerful weapon would also save millions of lives. The calculations of the military experts in the summer of 1945 were that without the atomic bomb's efficiency in reducing the enemy's will to resist, the war would barely be ended even now.

If we consult our consciences we know that the greatest freedom possible on earth is that in which every man shares in the task of making life worthwhile for all men. If we consult our consciences, we know too that war is an evil thing which must be forever eliminated as the instrument by which one man or a group of men impose their will on others of the human family. Yet once this power for evil has been launched, we cannot shirk our responsibility to wage war in defense of man's freedom.

Into this situation the atomic bomb brings a whole new set of conditions and impulsions. Because of its destructiveness it compels men to think; it impels them to cooperate on a scale never before tried in this world for the purpose of creating the "good world" in which all can live free. That is the real meaning of an effort like UNESCO's to study and to enlarge without delay the bases of understanding and of goodwill between all the peoples of the earth. It is only by

First chain reaction for release of nuc energy, Dec. 2, 1942! Dramatic mon is here pictured in film "Beginning of End." Atomic stockpile is at rear. Compton (left, gazing at mechanism) played by Moroni Olsen.

creating the good world that we will banish war.

I am confident that man's spirit is expanding apace today. I am convinced that there is immeasurably more willingness of nations to work together—despite any differences that seem to exist or that do exist—than there was before atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima or Nagasaki. It is not enough to deplore innocent deaths: the human values we spent must not have been spent in vain. I know that the transition period from a world where war is possible to a world of cooperation embracing all mankind, will be long and hard, and dangerous. I think this dangerous period will last for another generation. But if we live through the next thirty years without a war, I believe the chances are good that there will be no more wars at all.

The task of every agency for cooperation between the nations and the peoples of the earth must be directed to those next thirty years, to keep them peaceful, to prevent disaster.

The challenge before UNESCO is one that may never come again in all the long ages. The Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization of the United Nations must not harbor visions of impractical idealism, but the practical vision of a world made small by science and safe by the new brotherhood, the new moral growth and evolution of men.

We are riding in a rapidly expanding moral universe. I do not personally expect disaster.

* * *

In the great, free, cooperative world that lies ahead, atomic energy will be, not a weapon, but a tool. It will bring a new source of power into those vast areas of the earth where there is no coal, where even there is no water power. By its magic, electric motors will hum in the desert, underdeveloped regions such as those lacking adequate power sources in the Southern Hemisphere, will, through industrialization, be able to lift their populations to new levels of living and to new opportunities. In already industrialized countries like the United States, atomic energy within a decade will begin to replace coal in areas to which fuel transportation is difficult.

When we contemplate the possible effects of atomic knowledge on our peacetime pursuits, we see that here too it exercises powerful moral compulsions. Science is turning our world into a place where cooperation is not only desirable but inevitable.

In a free society all must have the sense of sharing in work toward a worthy goal. Love of our neighbor must express itself in a desire to see all individuals, all peoples, all nations given opportunity to share fully in the tasks of the world community, and in the good life. This is the great objective toward which we move. Let us move toward it with energy and will, confident that it is God's will. If we make use of the instruments of peace we are now forging—instruments like UNESCO—we can realize in our own lifetime a new world in which all men are one.

Dr. Enrico Fermi, distinguished Italian colleague of Dr. Compton, demonstrates the neutron velocity selector at Chicago University, scene of first atomic chain reaction.

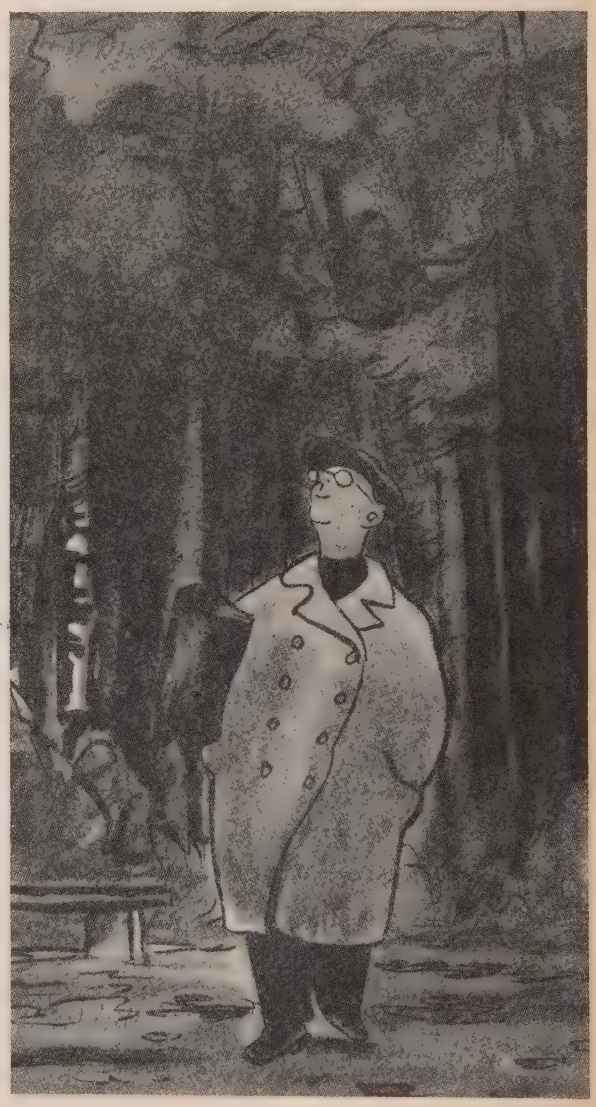
Does *World* Government Mean *More* Government?

A timely warning: Pearl Buck points out that "No government is good—none has ever existed for the benefit of the people," and says the UN will fail unless it provides food, health and education instead of surveys and investigations.

When I was a child our house looked out upon the Yangtse River. Many hours of my life in those days were spent by the window of our living room. Of human life upon that river there was a plenty, and I learned much from it. But I learned as much when the river was empty, in the early hours of dawn and the late hours of sunset and twilight. Anyone who knows the lower Yangtse remembers its tremendous breadth, its shores so distant that the slightest mist hides one from the other, its waters so deep that depth lines cast from ships are swallowed up as in a sea, its currents swift and turgid.

The currents were what fascinated me. The long downward slope of mighty land to mighty ocean pulled the river with it in one inevitable mass of yellow water. But when one lived by the river and watched it day by day, it could be seen that this current was opposed by countless currents, some small, some great, caused by hidden shoals and rocks and secret oppositions, which delayed the current and made dangerous whirlpools. Such unfortunate human beings as fell into those whirlpools were always drowned. Even their dead bodies made no progress toward shore or sea, but continued to move in the deadly circle, swift and yet static.

In these times I am often reminded of the river. There is a current, seemingly inevitable, toward world controls. Some men and women are even devoting their lives to the cause of world government. *One World,* the phrase which Wendell Willkie made famous, is the fountain of inspiration and living water does flow from it. But the current is delayed. There are oppositions and stays and plenty of whirlpools, where thinking and speaking continue in static circles. We talk about world government, we even plan for world government, but actually world government is no nearer now than it was a century ago. We must face the fact that today, individual by individual, most people anywhere do not want a world government, in spite of all arguments for it. People even may be willing to go on with the muddle of famines and wars and depressions. Dreaded though these are, they are less dreadful to average folk than the thought of more government. Scratch the mental and emotional hide of a citizen in any country and you will find rising bristles at the word *government.*



THE BUREAUCRAT

My! What beautiful trees! What a wonderful lot of paper they would make to write reports on!
—Krokodil, Moscow

Copyright, 1947, by Pearl S. Buck

Now this instinct has to be taken into account by those who are planning in world terms. This secret blind hatred in peoples against all government will undermine any world government that can be set up,

Whence comes this universal private hatred against government? It exists naturally in lands where the rulers are tyrants, or foreign, but I have found it here in my own country, in the United States, where it is to be supposed that we elect our own rulers and depose them when we dislike them. I find here the same hidden hatred that I found in India, in Indonesia, in Burma, in Indo-China, where people existed under foreign rulers who were too often tyrants. I know well that hatred against government is centuries old in China and Japan.

WHY? The answer is simple. The people have learned from long experience that no government is good—that is, no government has ever existed for the benefit of the people. With whatever idealism it was set up, sooner or later government exists primarily to maintain itself. Even in the democracies, the average official succumbs to the sickness of selfishness. The Indian prince clings to his place because it is his livelihood. But the smallest clerk, on thirty dollars a week in a bureaucracy, also clings to his place because his little clerkship is his livelihood, and it is to his tiny interest, infinitely multiplied, that the machine be maintained.

So through centuries of experience with every sort of government, those which have been imposed upon people and those which they have fought and died to establish in what they thought was freedom, peoples everywhere have learned to distrust government in all its forms, even while they acknowledge its necessity. This distrust is and will continue a major stumbling block to the establishment of world government. It is dreamful not to recognize the fact in our plans for world organization. Tolstoy, in his invincible opposition to the old government of Russia and to the Church which was allied with it, was expressing more than his own convictions. He was expressing the spirit of his people, and their consequent adoration protected him even from the wrath of czar and priest. He made the coming revolution articulate, and it grew out of the desperate distrust of the people toward their rulers in State and Church.

That same distrust is obviously growing in all parts of the world today. How much of it exists in Russia now we do not know. But in countries more open for inspection it is impossible to avoid catching the heat of rising tumult among the peoples. Americans feel it, unwillingly and unconsciously, and that is why all over the United States men and women are pulling over their heads the shelter of their small town life, and shutting out from their conscious knowledge the sight and sound of rising storm outside. Those of us who work in the field of international human relations are hearing on all sides, "I am going to spend my money this year in my own town. . . . I'm not going to give to any more foreigners. . . . I don't understand foreign peoples and I don't want to."

THIS ostrichism will not, of course, save one single American. The only safe course for any of us is to face the world as it is with all its storms and portents, and strike out for open sea. There are no harbors any more on our globe. Even an island in the South Seas, once the symbol of idle peace, can become a Bikini. The sensible man and woman will face the fact that any world thinking and world organization must take as a chief obstacle the individual hatred and opposition of millions of small human beings who hold grudge against government and officialdom. This opposition must be dealt with, not by foolish force and tyranny, but by substituting good experience for evil.

For world organization there must be, if human life is to continue in any sort of peace and happiness. The United Nations may develop beyond an aggregate of nations clamoring for themselves or it may not. The League of Nations did not because it never faced and dealt with this hatred of government. If the United Nations continue to function only as an aggregate of nationalisms trying to establish some sort of overall control over peoples without regard to their feelings, it too will fail.

Its success can only be based upon the premise that it can overcome the impenetrable prejudice of peoples against government. Somehow, and quickly, peoples must see that they are to be served. In other words, we must now have some experience which will counteract the past experience of peoples under various forms of government, in time and space, which has convinced them that they cannot receive from government commensurate value for their sacrifices for it. Costs of government are always too high, in peace and in war, for value received. The peoples measure these costs; each man and each woman constantly weighs in hard cash terms and with continuing resentment what his government costs him. He balances these costs against his benefits, and finds the figures always in the red against him. Naturally, then, when he contemplates a world government, over and beyond his national government, he feels that his entire life would be consumed in paying for government, and it is better to stay as he is, and keep a little for himself.

By Pearl S. Buck

Since the publication of *The Good Earth* in 1931, Pearl S. Buck has commanded an audience of millions, not only in America but in Asia and Europe as well. Her books have been published in at least twenty-five languages. Born in West Virginia in 1892 while her missionary parents were on a furlough from China, she was taken to China before she was five months old. There in an inland river city, the rhythm and life of China seeped through her pores and were later reflected in her remarkable Chinese novels. She attended Randolph-Macon College, Virginia. Later she spent years in China as teacher, wife, and mother. With her rich Chinese experience behind her, Pearl Buck returned in 1932 to the United States and immediate fame. In 1935 she married Richard J. Walsh, editor of *Asia*, and on a Pennsylvania farm they are bringing up five adopted children. Pearl Buck has received innumerable honorary degrees, medals and literary honors; chief among them the 1938 Nobel Prize for Literature. In 1941 she founded The East and West Association. She also heads many other organizations devoted to promoting racial understanding and human progress. Her most recent novel, *Pavilion of Women*, was the Literary Guild selection for December.

This is an American garbage can—full as usual.

I remember poignantly the grave faces of Chinese folk when they viewed with dubious enthusiasm the overthrow of the Manchu throne. After some years of experience they were saying with a sigh, "In the old days we had only a few officials to support. Now we have many." For the people of China "democracy" has been connected with a bureaucracy which has been too costly for what it has done for the people.

A new concept of government has to be given to the average citizen everywhere.

How can this be done? I would like to suggest that the whole idea of world government as a ruling organization be rejected. Let us reject even the word *government*, weighted as it is with unhappy memories in every land. Let us use instead the word *administration*. Administration of what? Simply, of what people need.

First of all, obviously, they need food. It is difficult for well-fed Americans to realize how desperately most of the people of the world need to be sure that they will never again starve. Peace will not be secure until it is based on food security. Food is one of the three necessities for life, the other two being water and air. What if we restricted air? What if people had to buy it by the measure and must suffocate if they were poor? The analogy is exact. Without food people die. Rightly, food should be free. But lacking this justice, food must at least be available for all. When the United States says, *for whatever reason*, that food must remain a commodity to be provided for some peoples and not for others, by this one act our government makes peace impossible. Only if and when people are sure of their food supply can they get courage to rid themselves of their own militarists. So long as the basic insecurity exists, people will keep their militarists, fearful lest without them they be completely helpless. The hold of the militarist over the people will be gone only if they know that they will be fed. Yes, they will be cautious. They will wait until they have experience of this security. But as time passes and the world food administration works, they will dare to refuse to support militarists. To speak of disarmaments in the world now is folly. People will not disarm until they feel safe and they are not safe if they are in danger of starving.

This world food administration has been ably outlined by Sir John Boyd Orr and it need not be amplified here. The plan is simple, and it does not smack of government. It is a shameful thing that the United States has not accepted it wholeheartedly and still more shameful that our people have not demanded that we support it. Perhaps I should say the ignorance of our people is the cause for shame. Private charity, to which we Americans are so addicted, seems to the rest of the world disgusting and hypocritical, as it indeed is. Ridiculously inadequate when two-thirds of the world is hungry, it puffs up the American into thinking himself fine and generous. Alas, if we could only see ourselves in the eyes of others, and how the bread we give chokes even the starving man! And how desperate are the millions who receive nothing!

I read with shame enough in my own heart the weekly bulletin of the United Nations, August 12, 1946, where was described the first year's work of the Food and Agriculture Organization. World food proposals were put aside in order to plan for more surveys, more research, more organization. These proposals for a world food board had been published by FAO on July 5, 1946. They were on the agenda of the FAO Conference at Copenhagen, and the meeting was advanced a month in order to consider the proposals at the earliest moment. "At the same time," says the reporting Department of State Bulletin for November the 17th, "the Conference had to consider other matters of great practical importance." As if anything could be more practical than getting food to starving people! And what were these matters of "practical" importance? "Admissions of new members, budgets and financial controls, constitutional and organization controls such as relationships to other United Nations agencies and non-governmental international organizations. The Copenhagen Conference also dealt with the advancement of the technical work of FAO in the fields of agricultural science and education, improvement in nutritional, forestry and fisheries questions, economic and statistical studies, and the work of the FAO missions, an activity which has initiated a mission to Greece."

Were our American's ignorance not so colossal, we ourselves who do not starve would for our own benefit support the world food administration. The Orr plan in FAO is the most sensible and farseeing of proposals. It is incomprehensibly stupid that our farm organizations are not pushing our State Department and the Department of Agriculture into action. James Patton and The Farmers' Union have come out unequivocally for the Orr plan but the other farm organizations are much too dominated by commodity distribution interests anxious for speculation. Yet the one safeguard for the American farmer, with his inevitable surpluses, is a steady market insured by world food administration.

I will quote Mr. LaGuardia. In the twelfth meeting of the Second Committee (economic and financial) of the first session of the General Assembly, November 11, 1946, he said:

"Recently—a few days ago—I sat back there, and I heard Mr. McDougall, representing FAO, tell you about the needs of these countries, the shortages of food. He was telling you about calories. Now, Gentlemen, please don't go off on calories. What these countries need is not a dietician. They need the food. Why, the reports and the recommendations now in our office—and I am sure in your offices—are high, are higher than this ceiling."

The next need of all peoples is better health. We Americans in the United States are shocked each time we go to war at the low state of health of our average citizens. But consider the need of a country like China, where there is one doctor for 40,000 in population, and where hospitals are almost non-existent. The situation in India and Africa is even worse. The urgings of private relief organizations become absurd in the face of such need. There should be a world public health administration, which can draw upon supplies of doc-

tors and medicines and medical knowledge from all countries. This administration would need more money than that of the world food administration. For primary research in diseases would have to be undertaken, a research now left to private capital, and as inadequate, in view of human need, as the small efforts of private food relief. Enormous public funds, however, now go into scientific research for military uses. It is a fact which every citizen of the United States ought to know, that the chief financial support for scientific research in our country today comes from the Army and Navy. The average citizen does not know this. If he knows it, he may not realize how monstrous and dangerous it is. We would not need, in our country or perhaps in any country, to find money for the world public health administration. We need only divert some of the funds now going into military scientific research. The results in possibilities of peace would be much more practical.

NEXT to the need of peoples for food and for health is the need for basic education. There should be a world administration for education, an administration far more direct and better supported than UNESCO. This again would need money, but not as much as for public health. I recommend a study of the mass education movement technique as developed by James Yen in China for an inexpensive and extremely realistic solution of the educational problems of illiterate peoples, who are the majority in the world today.

People who are sure of food, health and education are people who can make and keep peace. They have the tools of progress for themselves.

And what about world government? Well, if we have a functioning world food administration, a functioning world public health administration, a functioning world education administration, we have all the world government we need.

If peoples are secure in the basic necessities, they have the time and the energy and the wisdom to work out their relationships in terms of trade and culture. Individual and national tempers would not be so frayed with anxiety and fear as they are now. A man who knows he is fed, his health guarded, his mind free to learn, develops easily the calm and good humor necessary for peaceful world relations.

I have before me as I write a map of the United Nations structure as it is now set up. There is very little provision in it for these three necessities of the peoples. The General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice are at the top. Under them are six councils. Under one of these six are eight more organizations, *one of which* is FAO, the only organization to which a world food plan can be presented, and the only one which has the faintest possibility of administering food on a world basis. The possibility is so faint that it can scarcely be discerned.

Had UN been planned realistically in terms of peoples' needs, the three top organizations would have been World Food, World Health, World Education. When these three were functioning, a General Assembly could have discussed with some hope of solution the sources of dissension among nations, and a Security Council would have had more hope of settling international disputes. Obviously, with fear removed, there would have been fewer disputes to settle. The International Court of Justice, like any other court, would have fewer problems in a world-community fed, healthy and educated. At present UN is functioning in world slums, where a few rich families are trying to feel safe in a vast neighborhood of poverty-ridden, ignorant, diseased people.

It is destined to fail unless some sort of practical common sense can come to the fore. Where this sense is to come from, however, when UN is made up of persons supported by and with vested interests in government-versus-people, I don't know. We seem doomed to learn the hard way. The hard way ahead is an uprising among the peoples of Asia so mighty, so far reaching, with potentialities so enormous for danger, that sleepless nights are the lot of those who see it coming. This surge will not stop with Asia. It will catch fire in any country where there are depressed peoples, such as the Negroes in our own country and the unemployed necessary to any economic structure based as our own is upon private capital.

No, to dream today of World Government is a little more fantastic than most dreams. We are building no foundations for it. There is a house of some sort being built—but on sand. A storm of hungry, angry people could sweep it away.

A French mother gets her monthly ration of butter. At that, she is better off than most Europeans.

NEW ZEALAND ADVANCES UNDER LABO

Trade, welfare and taxes are booming in New Zealand —under a Labor government since 1935. Here Marc T. Greene, world traveler, paints a vivid picture of an "ideal" land—but ends with a sharp warning.

WITHIN a period of a few weeks, Labor Governments were recently re-elected in both Australia and New Zealand. In Australia the victory was more decisive but not more significant. In Australia labor has been politically dominant for a long time and is too strongly-entrenched to feel much anxiety about its continued incumbency. In the smaller Dominion, the position is somewhat different. Up to 1935 conservatism had been the rule in politics. An economic emergency then brought the Labor Party into federal office, and it was more or less another emergency, that of the war, that kept them there up to 1946, when they faced a coalition of all conservative elements called the National Party. The leaders of this expressed every confidence about winning the election. That they lost has considerably more than a local significance, for it indicates the strength of Labor, or, as some would say, of "radicalism," in a heretofore conservative country.

When labor came into power in New Zealand, in 1935, it was the first time so marked a political change had occurred in the Dominion's history. It came about for very much the same reason that produced the overwhelming Democratic victory in the United States in 1933. The previous regime had shown itself incapable of meeting the problems involved in a disruption and threatened breakdown of the national economy. New Zealand really turned to labor in desperation. More than 70,000 out of a total population of 1,500,000 were unemployed. Farmers and skilled laborers, doctors, lawyers and architects were bankrupt, and there was actually a threat of revolution.

The new regime was led by Michael J. Savage, a close student of the science of government, and of political economy generally. He was a Labor member of Parliament during the conservative regime, and became Prime Minister when his party assumed control. Unfortunately he died after a few months in office. Leadership then came into the hands of a man hardly to be called his equal, either in leadership or in social vision. Yet the present Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, a native of Ayreshire, Scotland, is a sincere and honest man. Under his guidance the Labor Party carried out many, if not all, of the plans originally drawn up by Savage. In order to evaluate the position in New Zealand accurately it is necessary to scan them briefly.

The primary obligation that lay upon the Labor Party was the provision of economic security for the individual. At least, that was their understanding. The leaders had long since dedicated themselves to the fundamental truth that a common absence of such security brings the very term "democracy" into disrepute. For some years, all through the world-depression, it had certainly fallen into that state in hitherto prosperous New Zealand. The Labor Party, acknowledging adherence to the central thesis of the Communist Manifesto though in no degree committing themselves to Communism in principle, undertook to correct this situation.

No one, not even the worst of many enemies of the New Zealand Labor regime, can honestly contend that it has not been corrected. Objections lie chiefly with the methods used. But the fact remains and is inescapable that there is no actual poverty in the Dominion today and little even relative poverty, and that in these dubious times New Zealand enjoys an over-all living-standard hardly below that of pre-war days and probably the highest in the world at the present moment.

Social security for the individual comprehends, in New Zealand, unemployment, old-age, sickness and ill-health benefits. None of these is, of course, entirely adequate but all are more so than in other countries and are constantly being increased and expanded.

There is also a "subsistence minimum," a provision through which a worker whose income for any reason falls below a minimum is aided by the Government. The old-age pension is available at sixty-five. Medical care at all public hospitals, including operations, and any and every expense, is free to all sections of the public, regardless of means and without investigation of them. Medicine generally is "socialized" up to a point. Doctors recover their fees from the Government, and patients, including optical and dental, can have the sums they have paid returned, with a limit that is equal to the average practitioner's fee but below that of the specialist's.

THE Dominion has an Arbitration Court which deals with wage-disputes and has the power to make wage-adjustments. Until lately wages were stabilized in most industries and occupations, but because of increased consumers' costs, also because of a definite expansion of the country's prosperity—as proven by irrefutable statistics—as well as of an increase of income to the employing class, to business men, and to farmers, the Court not long ago reviewed the matter of stabilization of wages and approved increases in some occupations. The Arbitration Court is an impartial body, including a representative of "big business," one of the employees, and a Justice of the Dominion Supreme Court.

Next in importance to the Social Security Scheme, in planning for economic security for the individual, was, and is, the

MARC T. GREENE

Marc T. Greene sixty-five-year-old Rhode Islander, is a veteran journalist who loves to travel. Since 1927 he has been international correspondent for *The Batimore Sun, Christian Science Monitor* and *Providence Journal.* For several years he was a correspondent in China and he has traveled extensively in New Zealand and Australia. Greene's chief fondness is for the islands of the Pacific. He paid for this in December 1941 when the Japanese found him in the Philippines and put him in a prisoners' camp for two years. A staunch defender of the peoples of the Pacific islands, whether Samoans, Filipinos, or dwellers on some tiny coral atoll in the lonely tropic waters, he has wielded his pen frequently and fiercely against any unjust alien rule over them.

RULE

New Zealand's new Prime Minister Peter Fraser, "a sincere and honest man," between Smuts and Churchill.

housing arrangement. Under this the Government has already built more than 20,000 modern homes for wage-earners, Government employees in the lower brackets, and small-salary groups generally. These homes are rented for an average of thirty shillings a week, the title remaining with the Government.

In such fashion a very large amount of money has been spent, and one of the main arguments of the present Nationalist Party opposition and of the Dominion's conservative element generally, is that the whole housing scheme is extravagant and beyond the means of so small a country—and that it is, in effect, class-legislation. This contention is, unfortunately, not altogether without ground, since New Zealand taxes are very high—by far the highest in Dominion history — and have not been perceptibly reduced since the war.

The money to build all these houses was borrowed from the Reserve Bank, which the Labor government long ago took over by buying up the privately held shares. Funds for the additional thousands the Government has promised to put up can be borrowed not only from the Reserve Bank, but also from the Bank of New Zealand, which the Government now also controls through the purchase of private shares. Control of these banks has enabled the government to borrow money at a one per cent interest rate. Even the small rental of the houses takes care of that low interest, and with sufficient over so that the entire debt may be liquidated within a definite time.

These homes for workers and low-income classes cause astonishment to the visitor to New Zealand. Every town and city has a suburban area of them and it generally resembles a good middle-class suburb in such cities as Los Angeles or Vancouver, New Zealand having for the most part a mild winter climate. The houses are in the American suburban style in every respect save the lack of central-heating.

Each house is different in design, though generally of the bungalow type, with its own little garden-space, with thoroughly modern sanitation, electric refrigerator, lights, radio fixings, and most of the contemporary conveniences familiar to America. The dreary monotony of long streets of standardized houses, so characteristic of most workers' dwellings in other countries, and even very evident in New Zealand a generation ago, have now disappeared entirely. The Dominion worker is housed as not even in the United States, while his Government sees to it that he never becomes indigent.

Those who urge that the little country can afford all this relative luxury for the workers, afford to permit him to cease work of essential kinds on trivial pretexts, and afford to allow generally such latitude as perhaps no other worker on earth today enjoys—even in the neighboring Dominion across the Tasman—cite the undoubtedly expanding prosperity in New Zealand. They point to the fact that its net overseas assets have risen from a sterling reserve in London of 24,000,000 pounds to more than 85,000,000 in less than a decade, that in the same period deposits in trading banks have increased from sixty-six to one hundred and eighteen million pounds (New

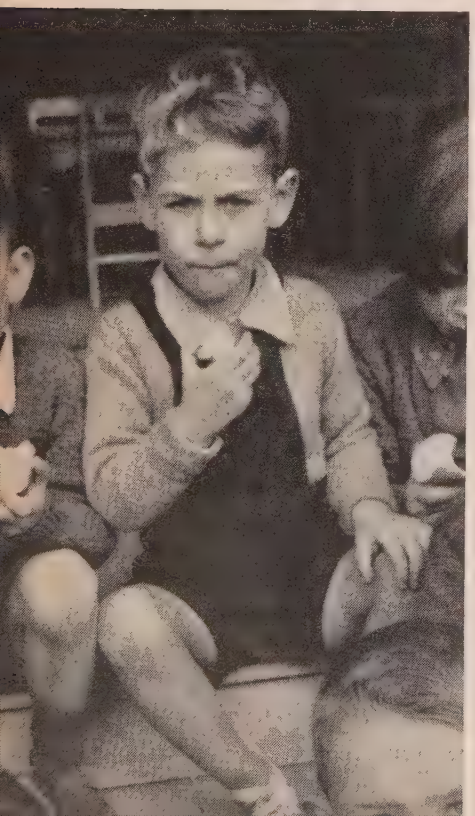
A few of the State-owned homes at Orakei, Auckland, North Island. The new government has built thousands like these.

Zealand currency) and post-office savings-bank deposits to forty millions in five years, while the ratio of bank-advances to deposits has fallen a third. Retail sales-taxes collected advanced from 3,480,000 pounds in 1937, to 4,200,000 in 1945 despite shortages in many consumer lines. There has also been a tremendous increase in share-price index numbers, marking a lively boom in the investment-market. The prices for farmers' commodities, that is to say, the primary products on which New Zealand's economy mostly depends, also expanded materially.

On the other hand, although general costs have risen sharply and all wearing apparel—though made in the Dominion and of indifferent quality—cosmetics, tobacco, liquor, and house-rents outside the Government scheme, are expensive, food is as cheap as any in the world, and as abundant. Meat is rationed yet but much less drastically than in England and, moreover, it is always obtainable. Similarly with butter, cheese, tea, sugar, and, in fact, practically all living necessities.

The average New Zealand male wage runs from six to ten pounds a week. The best-paid workers are the dockmen, "wharfies," as they are called in New Zealand. With large overtime for nights, Sundays, holidays, and so on, they sometimes earn as much as fifteen pounds a week for considerable periods. The "white-collar" class is, as always, less fortunate. Shop-clerks may receive no more than five or six pounds a week, office-boys, messengers, inexperienced typists, only three or four.

FREE APPLES: These children are enjoying the apple and milk diet provided to all New Zealand youngsters.



Out of this comes heavy taxation, including the shilling-in-the-pound levy for Social Security even out of the young messenger boy's two pounds a week. Income-tax, from which the exemption is so small as to be unimportant, is now almost as high as in England and even higher than in the United States. There has been no reduction in New Zealand and none is promised, which is one of the opposition's anti-Government arguments.

The question arises in New Zealand, as it must always arise anywhere when a "radical" political regime acquires control, of the effect of the impact of advanced social and economic legislation upon the national economy as a whole. Any government of the workers must finally be judged, and will be judged, not by what it does to benefit the working-class alone but by what it does to benefit the entire country. Therefore liberals everywhere have been watching the New Zealand Labor Government closely to see if, by encouraging distinct class-legislation and so engendering and fostering an aggressive class-consciousness that must in the end ruin any country, it brings the cause of Socialism into disrepute.

The New Zealand Labor Party, however, generally avoids the use of the term Socialism and has enacted up to now no measure calculated or intended to constitute a direct challenge to "free enterprise capitalism" on which the country's economy is founded. Its only actual Socialist gestures were the taking over of the New Zealand Reserve Bank and the Bank of New Zealand. The country has always owned railways, trolley lines, telegraphs and telephones, radio system, and certain other public services.

The Labor Government's foes have contended for some years that it has yielded overmuch to the radical and militant elements in the ranks of the workers, and that it has burdened the country economically for labor's benefit. On this issue mainly the entire conservative element of the country, the vested interests, the large primary-producers and practically the whole Dominion press have been and remain bitterly at odds with Mr. Fraser's government, yet their combined power exercised with all possibly energy and amply endowed financially was unable to terminate the Labor regime.

However, its continued tenure of office over an indefinite period would seem to depend upon its consideration of the rights and for the welfare of *all* the people. For a "radical" government to rush to the opposite extreme from the reactionary regime that may have preceded it is only to bring the latter back to power at an early date. The New Zealand Labor Party, in the opinion of the voters of the Dominion, seems to have avoided that mistake.

Nevertheless the Labor Government has managed to alienate not one section alone—the section whose representatives preceded it in power—but several sections. These have included a large part of the independent vote, the vote that reform should always and everywhere be especially solicitous about. The result was apparent in the late election when, though supported by practically a unanimous labor element, the Government barely managed to pull through and now lacks a really safe working majority.

This is the result of permitting, even sometimes encouraging, the worker to carry on with a high hand, aggressively and militantly, overriding and disregarding in many ways not only the comfort and welfare of the community, but the stability of the nation itself. One deplorable evidence of all this is that New Zealand's currency is either entirely unacceptable abroad or subject to large discounts. In view of the admitted prosperity of the Dominion, this is absurd, an anomaly. But it signifies only one thing—lack of confidence abroad in the New Zealand Labor Government until that Government puts its house in order. A failure to do that will ultimately, despite the recent barely-gained victory, mean the loss of another golden opportunity to make reform, liberal government, true democracy, a success.

Here you have one of the ideal lands of the world, in native resource, natural charm, wholesome manner of life, and sturdy character of the people. Even Samuel Butler chose New Zealand for the locale of his Utopian concepts. It is, then, an admirable setting for such liberal experimentation as might set the world a brilliant and impressive example. In many regards it has already gone some way along that road. But everything will be lost, and the loss to liberalism generally will be great, if New Zealand is permitted to become a paradise for the worker and something quite the contrary for the rest of the population.

ARGENTINA
—Conundrum For General Marshall

The Perón regime confronts the new U. S. Secretary of State with one of the most baffling and controversial diplomatic issues of our time. Here are the stubborn facts, brilliantly set out by an observer who has seen them from within the portals of the State Department.

THE United States' Argentine policy —if such it deserves to be called— has seesawed now for the better part of six years. It has been subject to the indecision, surprises, and often violence of an old-time prize fight scheduled to go on and on until someone is knocked out. Now, in the seventy-fifth round, each fighter has gone down for the nine-count at least a dozen times, and a decision seems more remote than ever.

One of its surprising features has been the bitter divisions engendered at every stage within the State Department itself. The aim of our policy has been to bring the reluctant Argentines into the united American front. It is not the end, but the means, that has been in dispute: whether to be tough, or to let soft words and diplomacy win the Argentines to our side. The two poles of opinion have existed simultaneously within the State Department. To name some of the protagonists: on the win-over Argentina side, Sumner Welles, Nelson Rockefeller (ably abetted by Secretary Stettinius), and George Messersmith; favoring stern and uncompromising measures, Cordell Hull and Spruille Braden.

THE debate on Argentine policy has been audible throughout official Washington, where the strongest criticism of Mr. Braden has come from the War Department and certain sectors of Congress. It was asserted that his tough policy had boomeranged disastrously. What had it accomplished? The so-called Blue Book, in which the State Department cited chapter and verse of Argentine collaboration with the Nazis, had (so these critics said) guaranteed Perón's sweeping victory in the presidential election of 1946. Messersmith was a different kind of diplomat. He would accomplish by friendly understanding what no threats had been able to force—the deportation of dangerous Nazis from Argentina and the stamping out of Nazi business spearheads in Buenos Aires.

Now 1947 finds the United States' Argentine policy as unsettled as ever. It is clear that the Messersmith velvet glove has accomplished just what the mailed fist accomplished, that is to say, exactly nothing.

With General Marshall's appointment, another Secretary of State has inherited one of the meanest problems American diplomacy has ever faced. There may be a new Assistant Secretary in Braden's place, perhaps even a new Ambassador in Buenos Aires. But can there be a new sweep in our Argentine policy? Every broom in the closet has been used before. If one wished to bet on which broom will go into use in 1947, then it must be admitted that the odds favor a soft one. The army wants this, and the army will probably have General Marshall's ear.

The U. S. army has a reason of its own for favoring a go-easy attitude towards the Perón government. For nearly a year now the army's plan for standardization of arms and equipment throughout the hemisphere has awaited solution of the Argentine impasse. While it waited, there grew up a considerable body of official opinion, some of it in the Senate's powerful Foreign Relations Committee, that the only way to solve the Argentine impasse was to let bygones be bygones.

UNSPOKEN was the corollary of this doctrine as army and navy saw it. The only possible enemy on the horizon was Russia, and if we were nasty to Argentina we would simply drive Perón into the arms of Moscow. Perón needed no persuasion to join an anti-Bolshevik crusade in the hemisphere. He had made his willingness public on several occasions. Why, then, hew to a stubborn, outdated line of cleaning Nazis from the hemisphere

Secretary of State Marshall now takes over the Argentine problem, most tangled knot in U. S. Latin American policy.

when not Nazis, but the Communists, were the real threat to American security?

Mr. Braden, on the other hand, maintained that acceptance of a totalitarian dictatorship in the American continent was no basis on which to build international security. Just as firmly anti-Communist as anyone, and well aware of the sniping role of Communist parties in the other Republics, Braden is a conservative business man with the real conservative's hatred of totalitarianism in any form. He believed in first things first. Argentina had made solemn commitments as the price of signing the Act of Chapultepec. It had not carried them out. Its record from the war years was a litter of broken promises, double-dealings and conniving with the enemy. Its present regime was one to inspire only distrust in democrats and fear in Argentina's small and vulnerable neighbors. Would arming such a country, such a regime, with American equipment be any guarantee of its good behavior? Mr. Braden remembered those other "bulwarks of anti-Communism", Franco, Mussolini and Hitler, and stood stubbornly against conciliation.

Perón looking his best

Today, as the opening of 1947 sees the third changing of the State Department guard in as many years, the battle of Argentina is as far from settlement as it was in 1944, 1945 or 1946. Experts long familiar with the Argentine situation and the regime of General Perón warn that concessions will not work: they have been tried half a dozen times in Argentina and found wanting; they had been tried in Europe and found calamitous. Arming the Argentine government may postpone a few present difficulties, they say, but the harvest in a few years will make our present troubles look minor by comparison.

On the other side is an alignment of forces: those whose fear of war with Russia overshadows any other consideration of foreign policy; the business-as-usual men who find present strained relations hampering to their efforts to sell in Buenos Aires; a powerful group of Senators who feel that coercion of Argentina was a mistake because it contravened our Good Neighbor Policy and has nearly wrecked the hemisphere structure so carefully built by Undersecretary Welles during his years in office.

Where will Marshall's State Department stand? The only clue is the army itself, yet one cannot pre-judge General Marshall by what some of his brass hats have said and thought. Half the 1946 battle in Washington was a struggle between the War Department and the State Department for control of our foreign policy. It is an open secret that the generals have long wanted a greater hand in determining foreign policy. Marshall may be their opening wedge. Again, he may surprise the country by filling a civilian job as a civilian, leaving behind with his five stars the army thinking and associations which were necessary to a Chief of Staff but could be disastrous to a Secretary of State.

In dealing with the Argentine situation Marshall will have to face ugly facts. They are the same inescapable ugly facts on which every policy we have tried has come to wreck. In dealing with a totalitarian regime there is no easy way out, and what looks like the easy way always turns out to be the hard one.

First: Argentina's trend towards totalitarianism has been accelerated, not retarded, in this first year of "constitutional government". Perón has presented to Congress a Five Year Plan, couched in such general terms, covering so many subjects (27 basic laws), granting the executive such broad powers, and giving himself such unlimited control of funds that it can be made the basis for a whole legislation by executive decree. Already on the statute books or in the making are laws giving Perón a greater degree of economic control than even Hitler had in Germany. All national credit, all foreign trade, all business, professions, labor unions, professional associations, schools and universities are being brought to heel under tightest government reins. Private bank deposits have been taken over by the government for its own use. Foreign trade will all funnel through a single government trading corporation, with middlemen's profits siphoned into the national treasury. The universities are being purged of the teachers and research scholars, the intelligentsia of the country, who still constitute a focus of opposition to the new state. And this is just a beginning. The Five Year Plan will not go into effect until this year, and will not be fully under way for another year or more.

La Epoca, Argentina, had Braden fired immediately after Marshall's appointment. This cartoon hails the riddance as a "Perón goal" achieved.

Second: Even without the arms to create a modern striking force, Argen-

YSABEL F. RENNIE

Ysabel F. Rennie, penetrating young analyst of Argentine affairs, recently resigned from the State Department after a 2½-year stint there during which she was Argentine expert of the Office of Strategic Services. At 29, she is already the author of *The Argentine Republic*, published in 1945 and conceded to be one of the best books on Argentina in English. Born in Los Angeles and a graduate of Stanford, Mrs. Rennie spent a year in graduate work at Radcliffe College before going to Argentina on a traveling fellowship. There, in 1941-43 she saw Argentina from the tip of Patagonia to the jungles of Misiones and the border of Uruguay. Living in Buenos Aires and speaking Spanish (she is of colonial Spanish descent), she came to know many Argentine politicians, including some now active in the Argentine underground. She was an eyewitness of the events that led to the overthrow of the Castillo government in 1943 and paved the way for the rise to power of President Juan de Perón.

tina has shown a dangerous economic aggressiveness against her smaller, weaker neighbors. Bolivia, Uruguay and even Brazil have for political reasons been denied urgently needed food in the last year. In Bolivia the reason for Argentine disapproval was the overthrow of the Villaroel dictatorship which the Argentines helped in 1943 to install. In Uruguay it was the foreign policy of Foreign Minister Rodríguez Larreta that aroused Perón's ire by its pro-U. S. orientation. In Brazil it was Argentina's displeasure with the Dutra regime. If Argentina, without arms, can act so aggressively as seriously to threaten the stability of neighboring governments, what would she be if armed to the teeth with modern weapons?

Third: Perón's "anti-Communism" has been as opportunistic as every other weapon he has used to consolidate his own power. He has preached anti-Communism to business men while publicly laughing at the Communist "menace" and granting full freedom and recognition to the Communist Party. The Party itself has reversed its former stand against him, voting at its 1946 Party Congress to support his nationalistic policies, particularly those which promise to embarrass the United States. At the same time that Perón offered himself as a bulwark against Russia he became the first Argentine President in twenty years to establish diplomatic and commercial dealings with the Soviet Union. He will play the anti-Communist tune just so long as it suits his present needs, and no longer. Tomorrow he may be offering himself to the other side.

Spruille Braden

THEN, finally, there is one more question for Marshall to face and answer. Even assuming it to be true that war with Russia were inevitable, of what possible avail would it be to have shipped second-hand small arms to all Latin America for "defense of the hemisphere"? A U.S.-Russian war would probably be fought out in the far north, thereby involving Canada. The only western nation whose defense would be genuinely vital in wartime is not even a party to this "hemisphere defense plan".

On the other hand, while the usefulness of American arms in Latin America for hemisphere defense is problematical, some of the other uses of American arms are all too familiar. We know that arms shipped in this war for hemisphere defense found their principal use in bloody suppression of popular movements. We know that the arms which would make no difference in a world atomic war would be just the thing for local struggles of the kind that decimated Bolivia and Paraguay in the last decade. And what would an aggressive Argentina do if it had arms? That is a question that little Uruguay cannot face without shuddering, that gives pause even to Brazil.

These are, as the saying goes, the *stubborn facts*. There is no easy solution. The men who make Marshall's Latin American policy will have to face them. In a sense, any choice is a choice between evils: every course has obvious drawbacks, and none promises an easy way out. But then, as the history of the last fifteen years should have taught us, when dealing with totalitarian governments everyone suffers. In that respect they are like cancers. To cut them out is painful and dangerous. If they are not cut out, they spread and eat into healthy tissue. And there is no such thing as "coming to terms" with them.

A "Visionary Notion"

"IT is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that was ever conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of . . . their differences of governments, habitudes, and manners, . . . indicate that they will have no center of union and no common interests. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains." *The Dean of Gloucester, Josiah Tucker, speaking about the United States in* 1786.

THE "CURSE" OF FOREIGN RULE

In which a great Indic Scholar takes up the cudgels for India against the "irresponsible and uninstructed mentality" of Rudyard Kipling—and sets down a few facts as they are seen in India.

BEYOND question England assumed not only political but also cultural responsibilities in India, and among others, those involved in the control of education, the patronage of the arts and the direct or indirect attempt to make Christians of Hindus and Muslims. From the Indian point of view (which does not divide a ruler's legal from his moral obligations) these responsibilities are inseparable factors of a single policy: that policy which was enunciated in its crudest form by Lord Macaulay, by whose advice it was proposed in 1834 to form a class of persons "Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect." Americans are trying to do much the same to the Japanese today. It would be matter for laughter, were it not for tears.

English education undermined what in 1792 Jonathan Duncan, one of the early English Orientalists, had called "the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now existing perhaps on any part of the globe." English educators themselves incurred the responsibility for the inculcation of materialistic and laissez-faire philosophies in India, and this is one of the senses in which, as the *Hindustan Times* put it last year, "foreign rule is a terrible curse, and the minor benefits it may confer can never compensate for the spiritual degradation it involves."

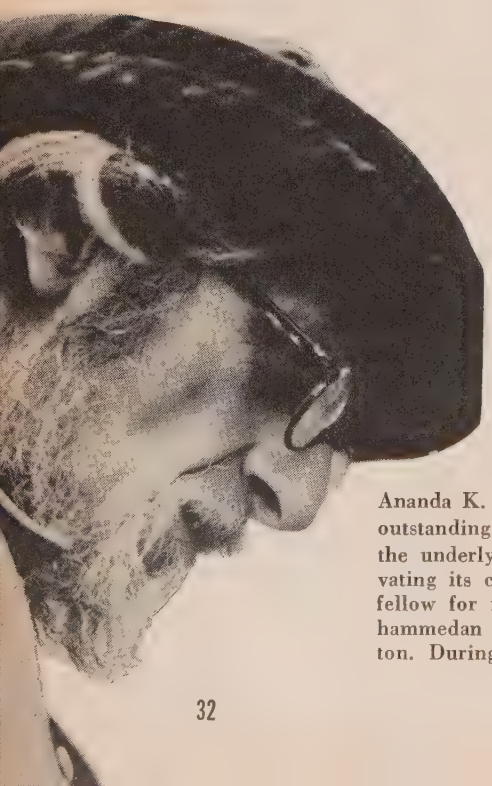
The English-speaking peoples have, indeed, labored under one great handicap, that of their domination by Rudyard Kipling, a skilled performer to the gallery, to be sure, but one whose irresponsible and uninstructed mentality represented all that an Englishman's ought never to have been. He, by giving free expression to his resentment of his own inability to synthesize the East and West in his own experience, has probably done more than any other one man to delay the recognition not alone of their ultimately common heritage, but even of their common humanity; more than any other Englishman to make it true for *Englishmen* that east of Suez "there ain't no Ten Commandments." You English - speaking peoples listened to him, nevertheless, and gave him a place in your literary pantheon where, in fact, he held up the mirror to the adolescent imperialistic mentality that carries its and his "white man's burden" so bravely. How can we think of you as grown-up men, as long as you play only with such toys as Kipling gave you, and only babble of green fields—the playing fields of Eton? It is high time that the Hollywood picture of India was forgotten.

Zetland, in *The Legacy of India,* laments that after a hundred and fifty years of British rule in India "it comes as something of a shock to discover how little has been added during that time to the legacy of India in the [cultural] sense in which the word is here employed." Nehru, our Foreign Minister, has had to admit that "I am a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere"; Jinnah knows little or nothing of Islam; theirs was an "Anglo-Indian" education.

The Poverty of Literacy

What had such an unstable and groundless culture to offer that might have added something to the cultural inheritance of India? Literacy?

With respect to literacy, one would have supposed that it is of the first importance to be able to speak one's own language well, to be able to understand what is well said in it, and of secondary, however great, importance to be able to read it. I do not think any one would maintain that the first result has been attained by universal compulsory elementary education *anywhere;* on the other hand, very many competent witnesses have assured us that—for example in Scotland, Ceylon and remote islands of the Pacific—the illiterate are typically masters of their language, using with perfect competence a very rich vocabulary—no mere "Basic," such as had to be invented for the benefit of Harvard students. One must add to this that in illiterate cultures everywhere one finds amazing powers of memory and the reciters are often able to repeat a traditional literature that would fill many printed volumes; and it can hardly be overlooked that a too great reliance upon books "of reference" often means that though one knows where to find a thing, one does not know the thing itself, or that the literate people are only too apt to treat their "hundred



BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy is one of the world's outstanding authorities on the art of India and the underlying philosophies and religions motivating its creative life. Since 1917 he has been fellow for research in Indian, Persian and Mohammedan Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. During these thirty years, through indignant protest armed with scholarship, no one person has done more than has Dr. Coomaraswamy to make the West realize its devastating influence on Asiatic culture. Tall, thin, slightly bent, with penetrating eyes, Dr. Coomaraswamy at 69 has somewhat the appearance of a distinguished eagle. He was born in Colombo, Ceylon, the son of an aristocratic and scholarly father, Sir Mutu Coomaraswamy. His English mother had him educated in England. As Eric Gill says of him in his *Autobiography:* "No other living writer has written the truth in matters of art and life and religion and piety with such wisdom and understanding."

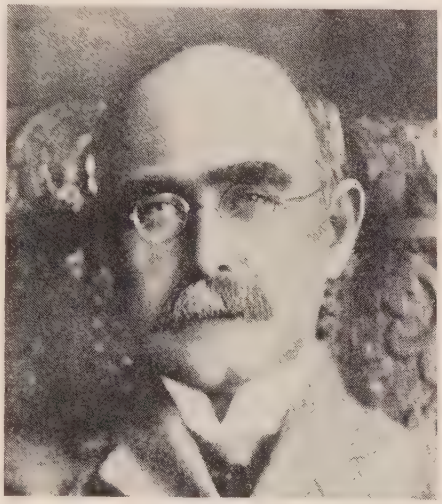
best books" in this way only as books of "reference." As Plato long ago pointed out, literacy may mean nothing better than a lazy man's substitute for recollection. All this should convince us that statistics of illiteracy are of no real value whatever as tests of the profundity of cultures; and that to impose literacy on culture, merely for its own sake, may be, as it has often been, the means of destroying rather than extending the culture itself.

In a country like India, where education has been based upon a definite conception of the meaning and purpose of life and directed more towards the acquisition of wisdom than to the conquest of nature, an estimate of culture in terms of literacy would be singularly inappropriate. In the most cultured Indian circles oral instruction is still much preferred to book learning, and there is full and general agreement with Plato that for the communication of really serious matters writing is no proper medium. Only the vital relationship that subsists as between a master and disciple is adequate. This relationship, indeed, in which the disciple is born again of his master more really than he was of his own parents, is basic to the whole Indian concept of a spiritual education. It is one now hardly even conceivable in the West, where an education in any subject can be bought or sold, the pupil renders no personal service to his teacher, and the latter is not ashamed to be paid for his teaching.

The Pasha of Marrakesh "does not want the incredible American way of life"; Mahatma Gandhi "sees in us a society which has enslaved itself to the machine, and is in actual process of being destroyed by its own creation." Why do you think that, as Rabindranath Tagore said, "there is no people in the whole of Asia that does not look upon Europe with fear and suspicion"? Do you think our fears and suspicions are only of political and not also of economic and cultural, or even of religious dominations? One of the greatest tragedies of the past hundred and fifty years has been the falling of "white shadows over Southern Seas." Now you, who live by "bread alone," are proposing to make new settlements throughout the Pacific —to safeguard yourselves from those of the Asiatics who have followed most closely on the ways of western "progress."

British Patrons of the "Arts"

A further responsibility assumed by the British servants of India, whose sufficient salaries and pensions have been paid for by Indian taxation without representation, in their capacity as successors of Indian princes, was that of the patronage of literature, music, architecture and all the other arts. One might have expected here a certain modesty, or consciousness at least of an average Englishman's absolute lack of the connoisseurship and power of discrimination that such a part demands. For instance, the Indian royal patron of the dance—an art of immemorial antiquity in India, and there developed to a pitch of refinement almost unimaginable in modern



Mr. Kipling. "A skilled performer to the gallery."

Europe—is expected to be "versed in musical science, in the moods and their expression, familiar with customary etiquette, and an expert connoisseur of all the arts"; and an Englishman might well have doubted his ability to fill this bill in India. Instead of that, we do not find that the moral obligation was recognized at all; the Englishman imported his own cultural environment from Europe, sacrificing nothing and learning nothing but to take a daily bath; and he taught the princes, whom he "protected" in idle irresponsibility, by precept and example, to organize brass bands inferior to any that could be found in the provinces of Europe, and to spend their revenues not on their own hereditary craftsmen, but in buying shiploads of pretentious and expensive furniture with which to bedizen the new palaces that had been built for them by English architects ignorant of the Indian tradition and of the capacities of Indian craftsmen.

Missionaries and Imperialism

The missionary activities of the English-speaking peoples are at least as much as any others open to serious question. They are bound up together with their imperialism in more ways than one; in the first place by the fact that the educational work of the missionaries, undertaken though it is, not for its own sake but, taking advantage of Indian poverty, as a means of proselytizing, is supported by government subsidies; and in the second by the fact that Christianity, alone among other religions in this respect, claims not only to be true (a claim that no one in India would wish to dispute except in a very few matters of detail), but also to be the one and *only* true and revealed religion, and therefore seeks to establish its sovereignty everywhere; it could no more grant that God could be worshiped in many different ways than can an American allow that perhaps "democracy" is only one amongst other valid forms of government.

Here, indeed, the intention of the English-speaking peoples was, on the whole, to give of their best. It was their best, but what a sorry best at the level on which it was presented, this "compassing of sea and land to make one proselyte"! The missionary himself, had he been more sure of his God, and less of the finality of his own formulae, might have been reminded of the essential unity of all religions in their admirable variety, by his residence in India where religious persecutions have been almost unknown.

It must be recognized that the average missionary, considered simply as a man, belongs by temperament and training to his own culture, and is the carrier of all its influences; he is hardly, if in any way more than a civil servant, intellectually qualified to add anything to India's cultural heritage; the missionary school or college is the last place in which it is sought to make of Indians anything but "English in taste, etc." Granted that there has been some change for the better in this respect, for example as regards the treatment of the vernaculars, it is still and always will be true that an actively proselytizing missionary must be, even in spite of himself, an enemy of Indian or of any traditional culture; for the simple reason that in such societies the opposition of "sacred" to "profane" that a modern European takes for granted hardly exists, and there is no

A product of "study in a pseudo-European environment"—the first Chinese girl to obtain the degree of M.B.B.S. in the Lady Hardinge Medical College, in Delhi.

department of life, even the most concrete, that is insusceptible of a religious interpretation by analogy; there is nothing "purely secular," and if there were, it would be unimportant to preserve it when all the rest had gone. In the field of poetry, for example, you cannot ask us to read the *Ramayana* only "as literature," as the Bible is studied in your secular colleges, without destroying values. In such societies, every single element in the pattern of life is closely and logically bound up with every other, and you cannot take away or alter one without destroying other values; hence, also, the disastrous nature of the conflict between the missionary school and the Indian home environment. Our Indian "culture" and "beliefs" are indivisible, and we have neither sciences nor arts that can be considered wholly apart from their application to the healing of souls with which magnanimous philosophies have always been concerned: "all Indian philosophies are at the same time doctrines of salvation."

The Younger Generation

Why, then, it may be asked, have so many Indians sent their children to missionary schools or colleges? Partly, of course, because those Indians who have already been made "English in tastes, in opinion, etc." would naturally send their children to study in a pseudo-European environment; but in the case of others, more intact, by an economic necessity. So little had been spent on other educational projects by the British government during the past hundred years that there was a real dearth of facilities for the teaching of such subjects as are indispensable for the earning of a livelihood in the modern world in which very much of the economy of the original society had already been undermined by the impact of industrialism and a calculated regulation of trade in the interests of British manufacturers.

So it came to this, that the missionary used an existing economic situation to bait his trap for the younger generation, always with the best intentions—but you know what road the best intentions often pave. This is fundamentally the most immoral aspect of the Christian educational and medical establishments in India, however great the particular advantages they may have otherwise dispensed. The missionary himself, and all his apparatus of buildings, laboratories, libraries and so forth have their cost price, and this can be collected only by means of the elaborately organized appeals of the foreign missionary societies to the charitable instincts of congregations whose sole knowledge of the peoples for whose benefit they are asked to subscribe is derived from what is told them by the missionaries themselves.

This was an organized propaganda. What kind of picture do you think the missionary, even supposing him well informed, could afford to paint, if he was to persuade such audiences to supply the needed funds? Surely not a bright one, nor even a fair one. the failings of an un-Christian socie whether or not identical with those th are to be found also in Christian soc. eties, so called, must be emphasized, and over-emphasized, if the hearts of the audience are to be adequately wrung and its children persuaded to contribute their pennies.

It is very possible for the "others" who are not of the Anglo-Saxon tradition to evaluate what the English-speaking peoples have done to or for them in the past few hundred years, otherwise than do the English-speaking peoples themselves, who cannot always see themselves as others see them; possible, indeed, to question very seriously the wisdom of following any further in their footsteps on a pathway of progress that has been attended by so many disasters and may end in almost irretrievable catastrophe. Any possibility of a military or even economic security seems to be excluded from the prospect that lies before the individualistic warring cultures, whether democratic or totalitarian, which are not at peace with themselves or anybody else and in which what we call in India "the law of the sharks" prevails. Many of us are not yet, or no longer, blinded by an ambition to be in any sense your rivals, to convert you to our ways of thinking, or persuade you to adopt our social patterns. Our hope is only that your world may come to its own senses and return to that "inheritance" of truth that is the birthright of all mankind.

India's philosopher-poet, the late Rabindranath Tagore, with some of his students, at Santinekitan, the university he founded to carry on India's age-old culture.

Tension has eased. Molotov and Byrnes shake hands.

FRIENDLY ADVERSARIES

A FEW weeks ago the world learned with surprise that Churchill and Stalin, who have denounced each other bitterly as disturbers of the peace ever since the war ended, had exchanged warm cables on the occasion of the Russian statesman's birthday.

The fact that such an incident could occur, amid all the hurlyburly of diplomatic crossfire all around the world, brought a glow of satisfaction to many an onlooker of the international scene.

Yet it only emphasized a human trait that is common to most statesmen. That is the ability to forget their diplomatic squabbles when it comes to matters of personal relationship. Nowhere is this better illustrated than at the conclaves of the nations. Even in the old days at Geneva, League delegates who attacked each other publicly in the fiercest terms, were often noticed hobnobbing together afterward when off the public scene.

The same is true today of the delegates of the United Nations—more true, perhaps, because the power of the new organization is so much greater. How true it is may be gathered from the series of pictures that follow.

There are no two people in the UN who have been more outspoken in their mutual criticism than Molotov and Connally of Texas. But Connally has always made it a point—even after his sharpest speech—to part with a smile and a warm handshake.

Canadian Ambassador L. B. Pearson, who was the first "Western candidate" for the Secretary Generalship of UN, in a friendly chat with Gromyko after a hot debate on atomic energy.

Mrs. Roosevelt has become the spokesman for the Western view on refugees and has often had to test her oratorical talents against the Soviets. But once the meeting is over they, too, meet pleasantly.

Cocktail encounter. This is one of the most amazing get-togethers at UN. Left to right—Vlada Popovich, Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.; Dr. Jose Arce, Chairman of the Argentine delegation; Stanoje Simic, Yugoslav Foreign Minister; and Mrs. Arce. Mrs. Arce has just approached the group in what appears to be a quizzical state of mind, but she says she wasn't angry —just surprised.

It is said that Ukrainian No. 1 man Manuilski (right) and Britain's brilliant Noel-Baker have great intellectual attraction for one another, despite all political differences.

Representatives of two poles—Vishinski of the U.S.S.R. and Arce of Argentina.

The British and Indians meet for the first time as equals. Ivor Thomas, British Under-Secretary for Colonies, with independent Indian delegate V. K. Krishna Menon, Nehru's personal representative in London.

On the Spanish debate, the Ukrainian and Argentine de gations were at terrific odds. But here Ukraine's Medved lig a friendly flame for Argentina's Coraminos.

Yugoslavia and Greece are neighbors, but their regimes are worlds apart. However, in the UN Drs. Bebler of Yugoslavia and Agnidas of Greece are often members of the same committee and work closely together on documents.

In the conflict on refugees, the leaders of the two oppo views were Hector MacNeil, British Minister of State, a U.S.S.R. delegate T. N. Feonov. Here they chat rather th debate on their never-ending controversy.

Brain trust triangle. It is said that Boris Stein (left in each picture below), is the juridical brain-truster for the Soviets, just as Dulles (right in first picture) is for the Republicans in U. S. and as Shawcross (right in second picture) is for the U.

The Second Phase of Peace Begins in Hopeful Atmosphere

With the resolution of the General Assembly on disarmament, the second phase of the peace has begun.

The first phase, which lasted eighteen months—from V-E Day to November, 1946—was characterized by deep dissensions among the Allies from which neither the Western nor the Eastern bloc emerged with greater stature.

By and large, neither of the respective groups has been able to outpace the other in influencing international opinion. The only notable change is the greater intensity of hostile feelings on both sides. The Foreign Ministers of the four major powers realized in November, we are told on excellent authority, that either an improvement must be achieved at once or each of them would have to declare frankly to his country that efforts toward world cooperation had failed. The ministers chose the first of the two alternatives, and immediately, as if by a miracle, the most entangled and explosive of political situations were resolved. With breathless speed the peace treaties with the five Axis satellites were agreed upon. The resolutions on Spain, disarmament, international investigation of the Greek situation, establishment of a UN administration under the Security Council for Trieste—all were adopted.

The agenda for the conference on the German treaty was adopted unanimously, and Moscow has accepted the responsibility of host not only to the major governments of the world but also to the press and radio, which are guaranteed free and uncensored reporting. Thus there emerged the first promise of a lifting of the psychological curtain of distrust and fear which has divided the world into two blocs from the very day of victory.

Repercussions of these achievements in agreement were immediately felt around the world, for the great importance of international events in their bearing upon the internal situations, of the nations has brought about a hitherto undreamed of degree of direct relationship between the two.

The second phase of the peace thus begins more propitiously. However, there are still many stumbling blocks to be overcome. Test cases will be the treaties on Germany and Japan, the agreement on the establishment of the International Atomic Authority, the elimination of Franco, and the adoption of concrete steps toward disarmament through the special session of the Assembly which is to meet sometime this summer.

The military budgets of most nations are still incredibly high, and by and large, a full third of the national budgets is being spent on implements of war. Out of a total budget of 3,886,917,000 pounds sterling, British military expenses amount to 1,666,575,000 pounds. In Soviet Russia, while the figures are incomplete, probably about 100 billion rubles out of a budget of roughly 320 billion will go to the war departments.

The United States, with a total outlay of $37,528,000,000—as proposed in President Truman's budget, will spend $11,587,114,769 for military purposes. Even France, despite her grave economic plight, has spent 60 billion francs for military expenses in the first three months of 1947. That compares with a total budget for the period of 175 billion.

Thus the international agenda carries three simultaneous measures of prime importance which are part of the same global program for world security: first, the establishment of atomic authority; second, progressive disarmament; and third, the establishment of military forces under the UN. The next most urgent problem for 1947 is the implementation of the trusteeship provisions of the Charter and the progressive liberation of the various colonial areas. The vote by the Indian Assembly in favor of an independent republic is a clear indication of the tremendous changes that are taking place on the Asiatic continent.

Last but not least, the UN must begin to tackle the problem of establishing an effective economic world machinery and a system of economic sanctions against any aggressor.

LOUIS DOLIVET

THE "UNITED NATIONS WORLD" —WHERE IT STANDS AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR IN THE WORLD OF TODAY

There are those who advise patience in international affairs by pointing out that it will take a long time to mold into one world the varying political, economic and ideological systems of fifty-five nations. There are those who have no patience at all, and advocate the immediate establishment of a world government—with or without Russia—whatever the consequences may be. The Editors of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD take their stand somewhere in between these two groups.

In our opinion, the first group does not take into account the deep anxiety of peoples everywhere, their dissatisfaction with the miseries of the world, their sense of insecurity, their indifference toward world organization, and, above all, the truly alarming disaffection among the peoples of the world with government in general. The patience of that group runs the risk of encouraging the continuation of the present state of affairs without the necessary immediate remedies.

On the other hand, the second group eliminates itself, through advocacy of world government and nothing else, from the day-by-day struggle for the improvement of the present world organization. It eliminates itself for instance, from the fight for international relief; disarmament; freedom of speech; and the international bill of human rights.

This magazine is established on the fundamental belief that the United Nations Organization can succeed. It believes that one of the chief requirements for UN's success is an internationally educated world public opinion. The first aim of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD is therefore to educate people on international affairs through journalism on the highest level possible. This magazine is also a world enterprise, aiming at publication in many countries.

The UNITED NATIONS WORLD is independent, non-partisan and non-conventional. It will support or oppose governments, groups and individuals according to whether or not they uphold the principles of the United Nations. The goal is the federation of free peoples of the world—the instrument, the UN.

THE EDITORS.

35 CONFLICTS

OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD TO PEACE

A survey of the thirty-five troubled areas in which international, civil, racial or colonial conflicts are of such intensity that they disturb world understanding, and in some cases even threaten the peace. It is up to the UN in this fateful 1947 to eliminate these conflicts, or at least ameliorate them.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS (I)

The areas in which the conflict is typically international are those in which two or more states are involved. In this category are Trieste, Germany, Austria, Czecho-Hungarian border, Albania, Klagenfurt, Schleswig, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang-Tibet, Japan, Manchuria, Sarawak, Trans-Jordania, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, British Honduras, Iceland and Antarctica.

CIVIL CONFLICTS (C)

The areas in which the conflict is typically civil are those involving a single state, constituting no immediate international danger. In this category are China and Portugal.

CIVIL AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS (C AND I)

Those in which there is grave internal dissent and, simultaneously, international complications because of border conflicts or threats to peace. Examples: Spain, Greece, Poland, Iran and Korea.

INTERNATIONAL, CIVIL AND RACIAL CONFLICTS (I, C, R.)

Conflicts in which there are not only elements of civil and international discord, but also racial strife. Typical examples are Palestine, Argentina and South Africa.

COLONIAL LIBERATION CONFLICTS (L)

Those in which the problem of transforming former colonial status into autonomous society provokes serious problems. In this category are India, Indo-China, Nigeria, Burma, Malaya and Netherlands East Indies.

TRUSTEESHIP CONFLICTS (T)

Trusteeship conflicts are those in which a transfer to international trusteeship should take place. Typical examples are Southwest Africa, Tripoli-Eritrea-Somaliland and the Pacific Islands.

WORLD SIGNIFICANCE: 1947

HERRIOT

Today science, in its gigantic conquests of the unknown, tends to outstride the gentler processes of philosophy. But in this significant essay, Edouard Herriot, one of the few world statesmen of our time who is also a distinguished philosopher and man of letters, shows that philosophy, the art of "not to know," is just as eternal as science, the art of knowing.

One still remembers Fontenelle, who toward the end of the 17th Century, attempted to initiate a marchioness into basic definitions of philosophy. After dinner in the cool of the evening he would escort her into a park, under a rising moon whose rays, he said, "brought about an agreeable mixture of a strong white with all that green which seemed black." The austere conversation would begin, as it was proper, by some gallant daydreaming about the blond beauty of the day as opposed to the darker charms of the twilight.

In order not to frighten the marchioness, Fontenelle explained nature to her by comparisons borrowed from the ways of the Opera society. There he was, attacking the very core of the conversation: "All philosophy," Fontenelle would say, "is based only on two things; one is curiosity of mind, the other, incredulous and doubting eyes . . . one wishes to know more than what one sees. Therein lies the difficulty . . . the true philosophers spend their lives in not believing what they see and in trying to guess what they don't see at all." And while her spiritual guide was outlining to her the genealogy of the sciences, the marchioness, like the shepherd in biblical times, her eyes turned toward the gold of the stars, toward the blue of the sky, derived such delicate pleasure from these teachings that one can hear her say: "Would you please speak some more Chaldean to me?"

Today our philosophical guide shows us primitive philosophy as one which gathers the enigmas which human restlessness is frantically trying to solve, as one which poses either secretly or publicly all the problems which torment human minds. It proceeds, epoch by epoch, to take inventory of knowledge and incorporates into social and moral life the truths which it has little by little sifted out from the initial chaos. Various sciences were born out of philosophy, which disciplines them and binds them together. It prods each of them constantly to improve its methods; it fosters comparisons and tends toward a synthesis which would simultaneously establish the unity of the world and that of the human mind. Philosophy reserves for itself the over-all right of control and criticism, and the role of Mother of Sciences. It remains true to the classic definition which Plato gave in his *Republic*. It preserves for itself, for example, the task of examining the concept of space which other sciences merely utilize, and becomes true science, bestowing onto its various provinces—logic, ethics, esthetics and psychology—the benefit of conquests achieved through observation and analysis.

This is a simple, broad and, to my mind, a correct appraisal — despite some outstanding dissents. Most assuredly, the true philosopher does not wish to resemble the fool of Athens who believed, by some strange fantasy, that all the ships putting into the port of Piraeus, belonged to him.

Plato, who gave the most general definition of philosophy, also taught the need for discerning the various fields in which all future philosophical endeavors would be active. Theaetetus, that young Socrates, was supposed to serve as a model to the students of the Academy. This adolescent, at once so brave and so wise, still covered, like some of his masters, with wounds received in battle, was yet so delicate that his thoughts (according to an ancient text) had the silent fluidity of oil, Theaetetus was a geometrist. Socrates questioned him at length as to the conclusions derived from his studies before engaging him in a metaphysical discussion about truth and error.

How was this relation between philosophy and science established through the centuries? It is so staggering a problem that one does not even dare tackle it. The most precious achievement perhaps was not the bestowal of the name of epistemology, or "the study of what constitutes the basis of knowledge," to this field of research, which no doubt would be better described by a less ambitious title. Knowledge of real man has thrown light on speculation about abstract man; esthetics has been enriched by a constantly more informative history. Logic is strengthened each time a scientist like Descartes or Claude Bernard scrutinizes the instrument which he has been using.

Does this mean that philosophy, in the various fields of its inquiries, is doomed to lose everything that science will have gained? Is it called upon to shrink like the famous *Peau de Chagrin* of Balzac? Even if philosophy were to remain nothing but an exercise, if its action were confined to a permanent invitation to reason; even if it were reduced to being an art—it would preserve all its value by virtue of its very objectivity. This is true, at least if approached with the French concept, which keeps it within rational limits and under the law of clarity. To find is beautiful; to inquire is nobler still. One can say that it is the study of philosophy superimposed on scientific research which gave to France so may vigorous and supple minds, brought up in freedom, and capable of critical appraisal. No, indeed, it wouldn't be appropriate in times like ours, when realities exercise their hard tyranny, to think of suppressing or limiting this purposeful meditation.

Someone said that philosophy is, above all, the art of "not to know." It keeps up to date the card on which are entered the debits and credits of our knowledge as they change in the course of the years.

Assuredly, the intelligence of a man is measured by what he does not understand. From this premise arises the need for modesty.

EDOUARD HERRIOT

President of the New French National Assembly

Édouard Herriot, distinguished 74-year-old French statesman and man of letters, was born at Troyes, in the defeated postwar France of 1872. His father and grandfather were army officers. His own bent was literary, and he became a professor of rhetoric. Half century ago his book *Philon le Juif* was acclaimed by the Academie Française. It was the first of many notable volumes in the fields of literature, music, travel and public affairs. In 1905 M. Herriot was made Mayor of Lyons, a post he held continuously until his internment by the Nazis. Meanwhile he played an increasingly influential role in French political life, both as Cabinet Minister (he himself was three times Premier) and as Opposition spokesman. An ardent Radical-Socialist long prominent in both national and international affairs, M. Herriot has nevertheless often stood out as a symbol of all France and of all lovers of freedom everywhere. He was in "protective custody" until freed by the Red Army and flown to Moscow at the end of the war.

The United Nations

THE *Secretary-General,* Mr. Trygve Lie, accompanied by a group of UN officials, hopped off Jan. 11 on an extended air tour of Central America and the Caribbean. Beginning with Mexico, the party set something of a record for speed, flitting from one country to another, with day or two in each, along an itinerary that also included Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, Haiti, The Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.

Lie's enthusiastic reception in Mexico set a pattern for the remainder of the trip. President Miguel Aleman assured him of Mexico's fullest cooperation with the UN. The day before Lie was honored by a picturesque Charro festival* and later attended a bullfight. All along the route radio greetings for Lie poured into the various little countries from their diplomats in Washington and New York. Beamed from the United States by the UN's Radio Division, the broadcasts were timed to coincide with the Secretary-General's movements.

Lie expressed great satisfaction with the support demonstrated for the UN by the people in general and by organizations such as universities and labor groups everywhere. Such personal visits to the smaller countries, the Secretary feels, are of special value, for they tend to dissipate fears that the UN might be unduly dominated by the Big Five, in the same way that the old League was run by Britain and France.

Secretary-General Maps 1947 Program

TRYGVE LIE is one of the busiest men in the world. His top job is to keep in constant touch with 55 of the world's governments. He also bosses an international staff of 3000 people speaking two dozen languages. He organizes and frequently must attend international conferences. Furthermore, he must do a great deal of traveling, for it is part of the Secretary-General's duties to visit as many as possible of the UN countries he serves.

At ten in the morning of every working day, when he is not away on a trip, Lie presides at meetings of his chief assistants. The "Cabinet" of the Secretariat consists of the eight assistant secretaries general—representing Security Council, Social, Economic, Trusteeship and other activities of the UN—and the top ranking directors on his personal staff. When Lie is away for even 48 hours, an assistant S. G. takes over.

For 1947, apart from routine tasks and the innumerable duties thrust upon him by the General Assembly, Lie must tackle the following problems:

1. Line up a number of prominent internationally known men as reinforcements for his staff and thus increase the prestige of the Secretariat (the difficulty he faces is that a UN director's salary of $10,000 a year is often insufficient to induce able statesmen and experts to join up).

2. Achieve efficient day-by-day cooperation between the Secretariat and specialized agencies of the UN such as the World Bank and Fund, UNESCO, the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization and others (the difficulty there is to determine clearly the competence of each international agency, to avoid duplication, overlapping, jealousies, etc. The fighting slogan of the UN Secretariat is "Coordination of the Autonomy" of the specialized agencies).

3. Obtain from the members of the UN full and daily cooperation with the Secretariat. They must supply the Secretariat promptly with all information requested and recognize it in fact as the World Civil Service (the difficulty there lies in the jealousies of the various state departments and embassies, which often resent "newcomers" in international affairs).

Lie's salary for this Herculean job is $20,000 per year, plus $20,000 for expenses—together about 10 per cent of the average income of a movie star. However, the Secretary-General has one slight advantage—his salary is tax-free.

The Big Five and the Veto

THE atmosphere in the Security Council has visibly changed for the better since the improvement in international relations during the last weeks of the General Assembly. There is a definite, though unspoken, feeling that the Big Five—U.S.A., U.S.S.R., France, Britain and China—are going to be very careful in their interpretation and exercise of the veto power. For they know that 36 members out of the 55 are in favor of restraint.

This new trend toward a sparing use of the veto was most apparent in the debate on the Investigation Committee dispatched to Greece, when Andrei Gromyko and Sir Alexander Cadogan insisted that their abstention from voting should not be considered as a veto.

A member of the Security Council summed up the situation to UNITED NATIONS WORLD as follows: "The veto is a privilege which one likes to have but hates to use."

South African Defeat Encourages Minorities

THE Human Rights Division of the Secretariat is literally swamped with petitions from individuals and groups in various countries which contain either suggestions for an international bill of human rights or complaints against alleged discriminatory practices.

The petitioners have been encouraged by the results of the historic dispute in the General Assembly between South Africa and India. The Indian Government presented its case through Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, who made an impressive diplomatic debut. She charged before the Assembly that South Africa was guilty of

*Traditional Mexican get-together held Sundays all over Mexico by men of old families who put on beautiful costumes and go horseback-riding and to bullfights. Once a year, the clubs stage a big ball and invite the womenfolk.

discriminatory policies affecting Asiatics. India proposed that South Africa be asked officially to revise its discriminatory policy and to report to the next General Assembly on what action it had taken.

Prime Minister Jan Christiaan Smuts, representing the Union of South Africa, strongly objected. He insisted that the treatment of Asiatics was purely within domestic jurisdiction and therefore, under the Charter, could not be taken up by the Assembly.

There were innumerable heated debates, during which it became evident that the whole issue was of extreme importance, because of the incompatibility between racial discrimination and the basic principles of the Charter.

The final resolution adopted by the Assembly constituted a triumph for India and for the principles of the UN, for it condemned outright the discriminatory policies of the South African Union and asked the two governments, both complainant and defendant, to report to the next meeting of the Assembly on the measures taken to correct the situation.

Thus a precedent was set for the competence of the UN to take up matters related to racial discrimination. And the Assembly's action has since become one of the liveliest topics of discussion in Asia and Africa.

Prime Minister Smuts on the Defensive

PRIME MINISTER SMUTS is making desperate efforts to explain in speeches, broadcasts, and even church services, the reasons for the severe political and diplomatic defeat his country suffered at the General Assembly—not only on the racial discrimination question but also on the Dominion's attempts to incorporate Southwest Africa into the Union.

Smuts is trying to get the backing of South Africa's minority white population by flaunting the slogan: "Keep the races apart!" He is finding the going difficult. On the one hand, the racialists reproach him for not being tough enough with the UN. They argue he should have sent the other nations packing. On the other, liberal elements deplore the fact that their country should have persisted in a most untenable situation from an international point of view. Above all, many South Africans regret that the Prime Minister—who for 25 years has enjoyed the highest international prestige and whose contributions to the ideas and philosophy of world cooperation have won him universal respect—should have jeopardized South Africa's reputation by defending racial discrimination before the world.

It can safely be assumed that at the next Assembly, when South Africa and India will have to report on developments of the situation, South Africa will not entrust to her most famous diplomat the representation of this case but will assign it to a lesser Cabinet member.

In fact, many South Africans—and it is said even the Prime Minister himself—now regret that he took on the job in the first place.

UNESCO'S Start

THE greatest over-all educational program for all mankind ever to be envisaged on an international scale has been adopted for 1947 by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Whether it will function, even partially, depends on how quickly member states, particularly the U. S., approve their contributions to UNESCO's international budget. Until that approval comes through, the program unfortunately will merely remain on paper and may be seriously delayed. The main lines of this program are the following:

First, the development of fundamental education on a worldwide basis, for UNESCO believes that any country in which educational—as well as economic and social—inequalities exist is a threat to world peace.

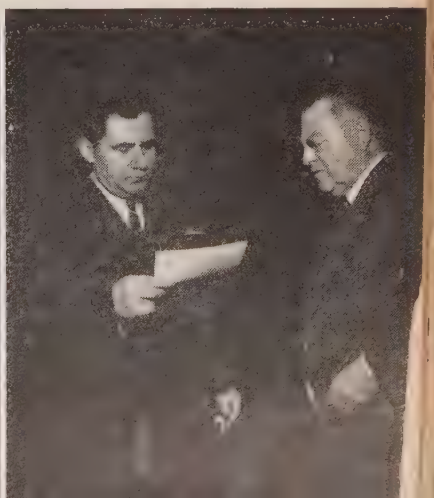
Second, revision of text books and related teaching material, much of which still retain plenty of hatred for other nations, races and religions.

UNESCO is already serving as a clearing house for information. This work has been begun by assembling the most commonly used educational books in the Paris headquarters of UNESCO, establishing the most serious errors, and trying to convince the respective countries to correct them. If they fail to do so, the books are reported to the General Conference of UNESCO and to the UN as endangering the peace.

But although some of the books are dangerous to peace, most are very useful for international cooperation. Therefore UNESCO is studying ways to promote the international flow of books by eliminating discriminatory commercial and postal rates, bureaucratic

Dramatic Intermezzo Between Gromyko and Austin

The two most important men in the Security Council, Austin, USA, and Gromyko, U.S.S.R. The episode relates to a document which Austin gave Gromyko before the meeting. They are shown discussing it, and their spontaneous reactions are reproduced in the three pictures below.



customs formalities, etc. Dovetailing with this is the World Copyright Conference projected for 1947 and aimed at ending piracy in books.

There was one great casualty at the Paris Assembly of UNESCO which many of the scientists are still mourning. That was the proposed worldwide radio. Lack of funds forced UNESCO leaders to postpone a decision on this, but they are continuing surveys in the hope that by next year public support for an international network will influence the various governments to contribute.

There is today not a single field in education, science and culture in which UNESCO is not interested. Any scientific, medical, engineering or other society that may wish to hold a conference can count on the utmost support and assistance from UNESCO. They need only write Mr. Julian Huxley, UNESCO Director-General, at the Majestic Hotel, Paris, to obtain information on facilities, addresses of other scientists, etc.

Magna Carta for Women

THE UN Commission on the Status of Women, meeting this month, starts its work in an optimistic atmosphere. For on November 11 the General Assembly recommended unanimously that all member states grant women equal political rights with men.

The resolution of the Assembly is a mere restatement of the principles of the Charter to that effect, but its adoption gives additional political and moral weight to the whole question of the equality of women. Furthermore, in the many countries where backward legislation is still in effect, it provides a new incentive to the growing movement for immediate abolition of these laws.

The Commission on the Status of Women will deal not only with political problems but also with civil, economic, social and educational rights. The leader on women's rights in the UN is Mrs. Bodil Begtrup of Denmark, who fought with the enthusiasm of a suffragette for such equality as the "equal right to breach of marriage."

The right of women to retain their own nationality, and the right of their children to choose the nationality of the mother upon attaining their majority will also be dealt with by the Commission. Another item on the agenda is equal rights for women to hold, acquire, administer and inherit property.

The prevention of discrimination against women in social and economic status and in national customs will also be discussed.

Even former prostitutes are to be protected by helping them return to normal life without being subjected to discrimination.

U.N. Military Staff Committee Meeting

January 17, 1947, in New York. Left to right, Admiral B. Turner, Senior Officer Military Staff, USA; Admiral Sir Henry Moore, head of British military staff; Lt. Gen. A. Vasiliev, head of Soviet military staff, prior to meeting.

Economic Activities

IF 1946 could be called the political year of the UN —for during that period most of its problems were of a political nature—1947 may very well be called the economic year.

Government delegations and the Secretariat realize that an overwhelming majority of world public opinion wants the UN to discuss not only political problems but also to devote increasing energies to the economic and social welfare of mankind. That is why major attention is being centered at Lake Success these days upon practical matters—international trade, reconstruction, easing of passport and frontier formalities, facilities for travel, statistics, transport and communications.

The next major event in the life of the UN will be the meeting of the Economic and Social Council on February 28, when major decisions will be reached on all these matters.

One of the most important items to come before the Economic and Social Council is the question of making available to under-developed countries the expert advice of the UN and related international specialized agencies. Every one knows, but few dare to say it openly, that among the fifty-five member countries at least half, while politically sovereign and independent, are certainly very backward in economic, political and social fields. Such countries can well profit from the guidance of international agencies.

World Wide Freedom of Information—Price, $28,000!

THE General Assembly of the UN has approved the inclusion of $28,000 in its 1947 budget to cover the expenses of an international conference on Freedom of Information.

This conference, when held, will be the first attempt by the governments of the world to implement the principle that freedom of information is a fundamental human right—"the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated."

The Assembly has already agreed that freedom of information is essential to world peace and progress, and that it involves "the moral obligation to seek the facts without prejudice and to spread knowledge without malicious intent." The resolution of the General Assembly makes it clear that without a sound world opinion, cooperation among nations is impossible; and that a sound public opinion cannot be achieved without freedom of information.

The Secretariat and the UN Educational, Scientific

CALENDAR OF U. N. EVENTS

FEBRUARY, 1947

With Some Additional Information Culled from Calendars and Almanacs from All Over the World

IMPORTANT DAYS	CONFERENCES	NOTES AND COMMENTS
1st		
St. Ignatius' Day (Roman Catholic) Grouse and partridge shooting season ends in Ireland.	International Civil Aviation Organization—South Pacific regional meeting in Australia	Time to catch up on seed catalogues (Old Farmer's Almanac). Violet for evening (Episcopalian Calendar)
3rd		
U. S. severed diplomatic relations with Germany (1917) Territory of Illinois created out of Northwest Territory (1809)	International Labor Organization (Industrial Committee), meeting on petroleum, Lima Economic and Social Council, Coordination Committee, Lake Success	Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness the Lord had done to Israel—Exodus 18:9 (Jewish calendar) Prediction for February: Ireland's worry over last year's harvest will be unfounded (Old Moore's Almanac, Dublin)
4th		
Marshal K. V. Voroshilov's birthday (born 1881)	International Civil Aviation Organization, Accident Investigation, Montreal	Never put the bristles of a new paint brush in water. It causes them to twist and work flabby (Agricultural Almanac)
6th		
Basant Panchmi, Spring Festival (Hindu Calendar) St. Vosgaiantz' Day (Armenian)	Economic and Social Council, (1) Population Committee, (2) Transport and Communication Committee, at Lake Success	Weather forecast for Boston, Mass.—windy and shivery (Old Farmer's Almanac)
10th		
Normandie capsized, 1942 Death of Pushkin, 1837	UN and International Non-Governmental Organizations, Public Information conference, at Lake Success, Economic and Social Council, Commission on Status of Women, at Lake Success	Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child—Exodus 22:21 (Jewish calendar)
11th		
King Farouk's birthday Eve of Lincoln's birthday	International Refugee Organization, Preparatory Commission, Geneva	More whiskers will be seen (in 1947) than formerly and the world may look for a widespread movement . . . favoring practical use for the same, such as weaving them into hosiery (Old Farmer's Almanac)
14th		
Birth of Mohammed St. Valentine's Day Gregorian Calendar introduced into Russia, 1918	Economic and Social Council, Sub-commission on Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas—Far East Working Group, at Lake Success	Weather forecast—blustery winds in Oregon and Washington (Agricultural Almanac) Prediction for February: Big shipping disaster (Old Moore's Almanac)
18th		
Mardi Gras Magna Carta returned to Great Britain, 1946 Death of Ordzhonikidze, Soviet leader, 1937	International Civil Aviation Organization, Airworthiness Division, Montreal	"O, this for which thou hast fought, Great Knight of poverty, Today the fruits of thy victories Are full of sap." *Tribute to Ordzhonikidze* (Russian Calendar)
20th		
St. Eleutherius' Day (Roman Catholic)	International Labor Organization, Governing Body, Geneva	Do not attempt to feed young calves with milk while wearing your Sunday suit, in 1947. Violence most horrible to contemplate may easily result (Old Farmer's Almanac)
24th		
Date set for Cuban revolt (1895) plotted in U. S. It failed when U. S. halted rebel ships about to sail from Florida.	International Labor Organization, Governing Body, Staff Questions Committee, Geneva	When dyeing an old dress be sure to wash it well in suds and lukewarm water and thoroughly rinse before putting it into the dye bath (Agricultural Almanac)
25th		
Colt's six-shooter patented in 1836 St. Walburga's Day (Roman Catholic)	Standing Committee of Negotiations with Specialized Agencies, Lake Success Council of Non-Governmental Organizations, Lake Success International Civil Aviation Organization, Operations Division, Montreal	The decision for the creation of a unified ministry of all armed forces of the U.S.S.R. (taken Feb. 25, 1946) was based on the experience of the past war (Russian Calendar)
28th		
Ember Day St. Apostle Onisim's Day (Russian Orthodox)	Economic and Social Council, Fourth Session, Lake Success International Labor Organization, Finance Committee, Geneva	It always pays to raise what the other fellow doesn't . . . How about more raspberry bushes and more strawberry plants? Ever try raising squab? . . . (Old Farmer's Almanac)

The Beginnings of the World Police Force
U.N. Military Staff Committee Meeting.

January 17, 1947, in New York. Sitting, f.l.t.r., General Ho-Ing-Chin, China; General F. Billotte, senior French staff; Lt. Gen. A. Vasiliev, head Russian military staff; Admiral Sir Henry Moore, head of British military staff; Admiral B. Turner, senior officer American military staff. Standing, f.l.t.r., Lt. Gen. Mow-pong-tsu, China; Capt. Tang-chin-sio, China; Admiral R. Moullec, France; Colonel A. Lauzin, France; Lt. Gen. A. F. Sharapov, Russia; Vice-Admiral V. L. Bogdenko, Russia; General Sir Edwin Morris, U.K.; British Air Chief Marshall Sir Guy Garrod; Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, USA; Brig. General S. Cabell, USA, prior to meeting.

and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) are hard at work preparing this conference, which is to be held before the end of 1947, and which may, if successful, mark a new milepost in human civilization.

However, serious difficulties are being encountered because of the limited provisional budget of $28,000, which seems puny for such a gigantic task.

Five Aspirants Wait Outside the Doors of UN

THE Peoples Republic of Albania, the Mongolian Peoples Republic, the Hashemite Kingdom of Trans-Jordan, Ireland and Portugal are knocking at the doors of the UN. But not having been recommended by the Security Council, none could be admitted by the General Assembly at its recent session. Earlier, four approved newcomers—Iceland, Sweden, Afghanistan and Siam—were made members.

It is one of the many signs of the growing importance of the UN that membership should be so desirable that many countries are willing to wait for admittance and submit to lengthy questioning and criticism. The General Assembly has asked the Security Council to reexamine the five applications, and the debate on them promises to be a lively one. But these are not the only applicants that will require consideration. As soon as treaties are signed with the Axis satellites—Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland—those countries will also request admission to the UN. Italy, too, wants to join.

A Worry About Budgets

THAT old bogey, budgets, has thrown a bit of a scare into the UN so far as the specialized agencies are concerned. Under present arrangements the various national legislatures will have to approve separate funds for UNESCO and the other specialized agencies in addition to the contributions that are made to the UN itself. That has raised the question: How easy would it be for isolationist congressmen in the various parliaments to get up and try to stall appropriations for the agencies on the grounds that budgetary contributions for the UN and its affiliated bodies were never-ending.

As a result many UN high officials are now advocating that one single over-all budget for all UN activities be established. Under this plan the specialized agencies would submit their budgets to the General Assembly, which would then incorporate them in the general UN budget to be submitted to the member nations. But of course budgetary control by the Assembly would sooner or later give it political control over the agencies. That is why the latter are hesitating to give up one of their most cherished possessions—autonomy.

Nevertheless negotiations are in progress which aim at the establishment of one over-all UN budget, including expenses of the specialized agencies, for the current year or for 1948 at latest. At the same time many officials are trying to convince some of the national governments that they should consolidate all their contributions to UN and submit them in one lump to the congresses for approval.

There is hope in some circles that the United States itself will give a lead to all the other countries in this respect.

Trusteeship

Eight mandated territories scattered around the world, with a total population of over 14,000,000, have theoretically come one step nearer independence. They are:

Territory	Mandatory Power	Population
Tanganyika	Great Britain	5,418,000
French Cameroons	France	2,517,000
British Cameroons	Great Britain	869,000
French Togoland	France	780,000
British Togoland	Great Britain	391,000
Ruanda-Urundi	Belgium	3,775,000
Territory of New Guinea	Australia	791,000
Western Samoa	New Zealand	70,000

Following the submission by the mandatory powers to the UN of trusteeship agreements for these territories, their inhabitants have the right to expect—as foreseen in Article 76 of the UN Charter—"progressive development toward self-government or independence."

They also have the right to look for action by the mandatory countries to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants and encourage in the various territories respect for human rights without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

The other members of the UN—those who are not administering the areas—have the right to expect, by virtue of the same article, that their nationals will receive equal treatment there. For instance, an American or Russian trader entering Tanganyika will have exactly the same rights there as those of an Englishman, a Frenchman or a New Zealander.

Whether or not the trusteeship agreements approved by the General Assembly will result in real improvements of conditions for the natives, it is too soon to say. Much will depend on the general moral prestige of the UN and of the willingness of the administering governments to stick to the principles of the Charter.

During the debate on these agreements there were many sharp clashes between the colonial powers, on the one hand, and India and Russia, in particular, on the other. The Indians and Russians wanted to make sure that the administration of these territories would be exclusively in the interests of the inhabitants, and that after a period of five years—or whatever the duration of the trusteeship should be—agreements could be reviewed and modified, depending on the degree of self-government attained by the populations.

While these proposals were defeated, a compromise resolution, as usual, was adopted. This provides that administrators of the territories must collaborate fully with the General Assembly and the Security Council; that they must prevent discrimination and show equal justice before the law; and that they must permit freedom of conscience, religion, speech, press, assembly and petition (the hitch in this lies in the words " . . . subject only to requirements of public order").

Signature of these agreements made it possible to set up the Trusteeship Council, which will meet not later than March 15, 1947.

The members of the Trusteeship Council are: the Big Five and those powers which administer dependent areas. Thus automatically the U.S., the U.S.S.R., China, Britain and France are members of this Council. Britain and France are present in the double capacity of administering authorities and permanent members of the Security Council, but their status is no different from that of the other members and, of course, they each have only one vote. Australia, Belgium and New Zealand are also automatically members as administering authorities.

However, since the Charter provides that the Trusteeship Council must have an equal representation of states administering dependent areas and those not administering them—and since the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and China have no mandates to administer—two nonmandatory powers had to be elected by the Assembly. They were Mexico and Iraq.

The first meeting of the Trusteeship Council is now being prepared by the Trusteeship Division of the Secretariat, headed by polyglot Dr. Victor Hoo of China, who, in addition to his native Chinese, speaks fluent English, French, Russian, and Spanish and even knows some of the languages of the territories under trusteeship.

When the Security Council convenes, the administrators of the various mandates will be represented on the Council.

The only mandate about which there was complete official silence, in spite of the fact that it was amply discussed in the lobbies, was Palestine, for which no trusteeship was proposed by Great Britain. The question of Southwest Africa was left in the air because the mandatory power, South Africa, wanted to incorporate it into its own territory, after a plebiscite among the inhabitants.

UN—Banker

The Secretariat is more and more assuming central financial responsibility for all UN activities. Before long, the budgets of all the specialized agencies will probably be submitted to it for approval.

Even now, the Secretariat often plays banker to various international agencies which go into business without having obtained the necessary contributions from participating governments.

That is what happened in the case of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization. Created on the initiative of the General Assembly, this body held a most successful Congress in New York in 1946—and then suddenly discovered that it didn't have any money with which to continue its activities. The Secretary General therefore advanced it a loan of $300,000 for 1947. Furthermore, in view of the vital importance of international health activities, the Assembly has approved the inclusion in the 1947 budget of a maximum of one million dollars as a further loan to WHO.

But the UN is also a careful banker. The Secretary General is specifically requested to make sure that such loans are "temporary, repayable advances" and are granted only after careful consideration and under adequate safeguards.

Twenty-five years ago: Trygve Lie and his wife on an outing.

TRYGVE LIE

By M. R. WERNER

In the first complete biography of Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, M. R. Werner tells how a Norwegian labor lawyer, who started life as an office boy, became the "public secretary of the world" and the warden of its society.

There is one man in the world today who is always on call. When the British claimed that the Albanians had fired on their warships in mine-filled waters of the Corfu Channel, while the Albanians claimed the British ships had no business in those waters, there was only one impartial man to whom telegrams could be sent about the dispute. Conflicting complaints and claims by Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, Iranians and Indonesians, among others, have to be sent to a fifty year old citizen of the world of Norwegian birth of international repute, whose name is Trygve Lie.

Ten years ago most of the people of Oslo could have told you who Trygve Lie was. Today many people in the United States, the British Empire, the Soviet Union, Latin-America and the Far East can tell you who Trygve Lie is, even though they first began to hear his name in February 1946, when he was elected Secretary-General of the United Nations in London. It was only last spring that people began to learn much about the activities of the world organization of which Lie is both practical administrator and spiritual guide. In that short interval, events have made the man and the man has helped to shape events vital to the peace and security of the world and to the welfare of its two billion and a half inhabitants.

This transformation of a Norwegian labor lawyer and government official into the top-ranking peace worker of the world is a success story in which the success is shared between the individual himself and the peoples of the world. The post of Secretary-General of the United Nations was created with past failures of the League of Nations in mind. Almost as many reasons are given for the failure of the League of Nations as are given for the

rise of fascism and the development of depression. But many people today will agree that one important thing the League lacked was an impartial guide, philosopher and mediator, who could help nations with interests that often conflict to avoid the perils of disputes. The Charter of the United Nations adopted at San Francisco on June 26, 1945 remedied that lack by creating the office of Secretary-General of the new United Nations and by granting to the Secretary-General broader powers than any ever entrusted to one individual in the history of mankind.

The Secretary-General was not only held responsible for acting as public secretary of the world, but was empowered to call to the attention of the United Nations through its permanent board of directors, the Security Council, any matter which in his opinion threatened international peace and security. He was also authorized to call to the attention of the UN's permanent board of human welfare, the Economic and Social Council, any matter which might promote the well-being of the peoples of the world. These are tremendous tasks for one man, and yet only one man, with expert assistance, could effectively perform them. The problem became one of finding the right man.

When the General Assembly of the United Nations opened its first session at Central Hall, Westminster, London, in January 1946 it had to find a president for itself as well as a secretary-general. These two posts were clearly recognized as the two leading jobs in the new one world, and there were various candidates for both of them, backed by various governments of different ideologies. The leading candidates for President of the General Assembly were Paul-Henri Spaak, Foreign Minister of Belgium, and Trygve Lie, Foreign Minister of Norway. The American Ambassador to Norway had approached Lie some time before about taking the post of President of the General Assembly, and Lie was pleased at the prospect. Great Britain and its close friends preferred Spaak, or someone from the Netherlands. The Soviet government had no strong candidate of its own, but it had no important objections to Lie. After considerable back-stage manipulation, the presidency of the General Assembly went to Spaak, but Lie got 23 votes to Spaak's 28, showing that the voting was not at all along lines of west vs. east, or vice versa.

When the United Nations began organizing, it was generally considered that the President of the General Assembly would be about the most important man in the world, and Lie was said to be disappointed that he didn't get the job. As things have turned out, his disappointment turned into an advantage, for the Secretary-General, being continuously active instead of presiding over the General Assembly only once a year, has become the key job in the United Nations. In the jockey-

Trygve Lie (left) and Paul-Henri Spaak, President of the General Assembly

ing for the post, the United States and Great Britain had originally put forward Lester B. Pearson, Canadian ambassador to the United States, and the Soviet Union had put forward Stanoje Simitch, Yugoslav ambassador to the United States. The Soviet Union was opposed to anyone too closely allied with the western sphere of influence, and the United States and Great Britain were opposed to anyone too closely allied with the eastern sphere of influence. Finally, Edward R. Stettinius, head of the American delegation, suggested Trygve Lie, of Norway, and the Security Council agreed unanimously to nominate him to the General Assembly, where he was elected on February 1, after a secret ballot by a vote of 46 to 3.

On Saturday February 2, 1946 Trygve Lie, a stout, genial-looking man, not very well known to the delegates of the 51 nations present, appeared on the platform at Central Hall, flanked by the seven vice-presidents of the new General Assembly, and the presidents of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. He took an oath of office which not only called for "loyalty, discretion and conscience" in carrying out his functions as Secretary-General, but enjoined him to discharge those functions "with the interests of the United Nations only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any Government or other authority external to the Organization." After swearing him in, Paul-Henri Spaak, President of the General Assembly, gave Lie his recipe for success of the Secretary-General: "You will be firm without intransigeance; you will be conciliatory without weakness; you will be impartial without exception." He also advised Lie "never lose contact with reality."

THERE is very little danger that Trygve Lie will ever lose contact with reality, for ever since childhood he has coped with real problems in a country which combines national realism with international aspirations. Norway, midway between west and east ideologically and geographically, had intimate contacts with internationalism through the League of Nations. Fridtjof Nansen, one of its subjects, was perhaps the leading citizen of the world after the last war, and took the most active part in repairing the human devastation it caused to displaced persons. One reason that a Norwegian subject was chosen Secretary-General of the United Nations was that the problem of selection was almost a mathematical equation, and the answer was a social democrat with affiliations that were neither too close to western capitalism nor eastern communism. That seemed to spell a Norwegian Labor Party man.

TRYGVE HALVDAN LIE was born in Oslo on July 16, 1896. His father, Martin Lie, was a carpenter, and his mother kept a boarding-house in Grorud, the Oslo suburb where the family lived during Trygve's childhood, and where his father was station-master until his death when Trygve was a small boy. While getting his education, Trygve worked as an office boy at the Norwegian Labor Party headquarters in Oslo, which brought him into early and intimate contact with the growing Norwegian labor movement. He also managed to keep up active interest in sports and once remarked that he was practically born on skis. Lie became president of the Aker branch of the Labor Party at the age of sixteen, while he was still in high school, and kept both that post and the job as office boy when he entered the law school of the University of Oslo in 1914. After his graduation from law school in 1919, Lie was appointed secretary in charge of administration of the Norwegian Labor Party. He was then twenty-three years old, tall, slim, powerful and good-natured.

IN 1921 Lie went as a sort of supply sergeant and general handyman to a labor delegation from Oslo on a visit to the Soviet Union. He took along Hjördis Jörgensen, the girl he had recently married. She also held office in the Norwegian Labor Party, and the two of them attended to the eating and travel arrangements of the mission, cooking its food on a Primus stove in a railroad car. Russia was in the throes of a food shortage and was still endeavoring to protect its revolution from counter-revolutionary invasions. The members of the mission called on Lenin in the Kremlin. Lie sat in the back of the room, as became a young assistant, but he watched everything eagerly. Lenin asked many questions about Norway's natural resources, which Lie's superiors could not answer. Pulling out his pocket almanac, Lie quickly supplied the answers.

He recalls that one member of the mission who was eager for the world revolution, and who later left the Norwegian Labor Party in his impatience and became a follower of Leon Trotsky, asked Lenin when he thought the revolution would come in Norway. Lenin looked at him sharply, went over to a map on the wall, pointed to England and said: "As England goes, you go." In Norway the prestige of the Soviet Union has always been high, though the interest in communism for Norwegians has never been great; Norwegians, generally, recognize, however, that the Russian Revolution had at least as much significance for the world as the French Revolution.

TRYGVE LIE became a specialist in labor law soon after he began to practice, and he never had any other clients except labor people. One of his tasks was to defend Norwegian pickets who went into the woods pretending to be on hunting expeditions and "accidentally" brought down strike-breakers. Lie managed to get some of them off in court. He himself has always been an ardent hunter and is a crack shot, but there is no evidence that he ever bagged a strike-breakers.

While studying labor law and practicing it, Lie rose steadily in the hierarchy of the Norwegian Labor Party. His conciliatory spirit, amiability and interest in working hard and managing the practical problems other men sometimes like to avoid, stood him in good stead. He became president of the party's regional branch in the province of Akershus, in which Oslo is located, and legal adviser to the Trade Unions Federation, fighting its cases constantly in court and advising it on its many legal problems. In addition to his law work and his political activity, Lie wrote two books, "The Anti-Labor Laws and the Battle Against Them," and "The New Labor Arbitration Law." He also took part in Oslo municipal politics and was a member of the city council. Since he has become Secretary-General, he has told a friend: "Say nothing against local politics. From local politics I came and to local politics I may some day have to return."

From local office-holding in Oslo Lie graduated to national office when the Norwegian Labor Party came into power for the second time on March 20, 1935. He then became Minister of Justice in the government headed by Johan Nygaardsvold. The Labor Party had a hard time keeping a majority in the Storting, and there was an election coming up on October 19, 1936.

Meanwhile, Leon Trotsky who was put out of France, was granted asylum in Norway. He and his friends had pleaded with the Norwegian Labor government to grant him asylum on the grounds that he was very ill and did not have long to live. Trygve Lie, as Minister of Justice, was responsible for Leon Trotsky's good behavior, and the warrior of world revolution had promised not to engage in political activity while he lived in Norway, for such activity might get the Norwegian government into embarrassing difficulties with the Soviet government.

But to ask Trotsky to refrain from political activity for the world revolution was like asking fish to give up swimming. The Labor government learned that Trotsky was up to his old tricks, and Lie sent for him. He was brought to the Ministry of Justice in great secrecy and surrounded by guards. Lie, who likes to deal fairly and pleasantly with every one, politely warned Trotsky. He explained how crucial it was for the Labor Party to win the coming election, in which the Conservative opposition was using Trotsky's presence in Norway as a campaign argument to show that the Labor Party was a gang of "Reds." Trotsky replied arrogantly: "I don't give a damn about your Labor Party. In five years you will all be exiled." Trotsky was later expelled from Norway, but not at Lie's suggestion. The Prime Minister felt that Trotsky had lied to the Labor ministry about his health. He had promised that he was dying and had failed to die. Lie, always a manager of practical details, had to supervise Trotsky's secret journey to Mexico.

Lie served as Minister of Justice until June 1939, when he was made Minister of Commerce. When war broke out in September, he was appointed Minister of the new Department of Shipping and Supply. In this office he showed abilities he has manifested many times, arranging the practical housekeeping of a government or a group. This time large-scale hoarding was involved, and Lie worked day and night to build up supplies for Norway and hid much of them in ships in the northern fjords. When the Nazis attacked Norway on April 9, 1940, it was estimated that Lie's efforts had given the country at least three years' food supplies. Though the Germans got some, Norwegians under occupation lived better than some other occupied countries because of Lie's foresight.

After the German invasion, the Storting, before adjourning, designated the Nygaarsvold Cabinet the official governing body of Norway and empowered it to continue the fight from outside the country if necessary. Lie accompanied the government and the King during the two months of fighting within Norway which took place before the government was forced to flee the country or face capture by the Nazis. During those two months the population, though it was intensely patriotic, was frightened when the King and the government came to town, for Nazi air raids followed them. Lie had the job of helping to calm fears and of obtaining housing and supplies for the government and royal party. On the walls of Lie's office at Lake Success are two quiet engravings. One is a portrait of King Haakon, whom Lie admires very much. The other is of Fridtjof Nansen.

Before leaving Norway with the King and the government, Lie sat in a mountain cottage in a village in the Romsdal valley and drew up a regulation requisitioning the more than four million tons of Norwegian shipping, 85 per cent of the Norwegian merchant marine, which had not yet fallen into Nazi hands. This four million tons of shipping was a good bargaining advantage when Lie went to see Winston Churchill after the Norwegian government-in-exile established itself in London in June 1940. Churchill was impressed with the amount of Norwegian tonnage and in return for the right to use it he asked what the British could do for the Norwegians. Lie requested uncensored use of BBC radio facilities to Norway, and he and other Norwegian leaders were thus able to give their radio instructions and appeals to the underground and the population in general unrestrained by the British government's own policies.

On February 21, 1941 Trygve Lie became Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Norwegian government-in-exile, after the resignation of Halvdan Koht. As Foreign Minister he made trips to Washington to consult President Roosevelt and became a close friend of the late Harry L. Hopkins, from whom he got American planes for Norwegian fliers being trained in England. He also paid courtesy calls on Marshal Stalin during the war. As Foreign Minister he always managed to ride deftly between the Scylla of the west

(*Continued on Page 79*)

Trygve Lie as a little boy.

Lie as a high school student.

Lie broadcasting to the Norwegian Underground on B.B.C.—without British censorship.

The Chief of the World's Supreme Court Speaks His Mind on the Subject of International Law and Moral Responsibility

The Palace of Peace at The Hague where the International Court of Justice sits

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

By J. G. GUERRERO

The new international situation which developed as a consequence of the Second World War has inevitably involved great changes in the organization of international institutions compared with those created after the 1914-18 conflict.

As regards the League of Nations, the consensus was unanimous. The League had shown itself incapable of preventing wars of aggression and of guaranteeing world peace. It had lost every vestige of its authority. Therefore it had to be replaced by a brand new and much more dynamic and realistic organization. The result was that the United Nations came into being.

But with the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was set up in accordance with the Covenant of the League, the story was quite different. The work which this court had accomplished was of undeniable value and altogether beyond criticism. Its prestige and the authority of its decisions remained intact and, in consequence, there was not the slightest idea of putting an end to its existence. Revision of the Statute of the Court was necessary, however, because of the constitutional ties which bound The League of Nations to the Court, on the one hand, and to the peace treaties of 1919, on the other.

During the preliminary discussions on this revision, which was entrusted to a conference of jurists meeting at Washington early in 1945, the question of establishing a new court was raised by a certain number of these jurists. But the Washington gathering decided to refer the matter to the United Nations Conference which was to assemble at San Francisco shortly afterwards.

The existence of two currents of opinion then became apparent: one being in favor of maintaining the old Court, the other contending for a new Court based on the Statute of the old one.

The maintenance of the old court would, in fact, have given the states which had accepted the Statute of 1920, including enemy states of the Second World War, the right to present candidates and to take part in the election of the new judges. The new court, however, was to be an organ of the United Nations and its composition confined exclusively to members of the new Organization. This, in the end, was the principal reason for the decision at San Francisco to set up an entirely new court. In practice, the objections raised by those who favored the maintenance of the Permanent Court of International Justice have been entirely removed, since the continuity of its work is sufficiently guaranteed with the adoption by the new International Court of Justice of the Statute and rules of the old court, and by the obvious advantages of conserving the legacy of its jurisprudence to the fullest possible extent.

The mission of the present Court is, therefore, to continue the work of its predecessor. Summed up briefly, this mission may be described as follows: To settle all disputes of a legal nature which may be submitted to the Court, either by means of a special arbitration agreement signed by the parties, or by means of unilateral application in cases where the parties have accepted compulsory jurisdiction under the terms of Article 36 of the Statute. Such acceptance has already been announced by a number of states. The most recent notifications were those received from the Netherlands, the United States, China and several of the Latin American governments.

The Court will also give advisory opinions. In this

The Author: Jose Gustavo Guerrero has had a diplomatically dramatic life—citizen of one of the world's tiniest countries, El Salvador, he rose to be—in the international legal sense—the world's top judge. Distinguished diplomat, former League of Nations delegate, author of legal works, and veteran of many international conferences, Guerrero, now 70, took over the presidency of the new International Court of Justice after nine years as president of its predecessor, the Permanent Court of International Justice.

respect, its jurisdiction has been considerably enlarged, as the right to make requests for such opinions will no longer be confined to the General Assembly and the Security Council. Other organs and agencies have also been authorized to exercise the same right.

In addition to its judicial and advisory functions, the International Court of Justice is also called upon to continue the work of the old court in connection with the development of international law and thus to open the way to its future codification. The study of this latter problem is included among the tasks allotted to the United Nations. It seems likely that this body will adopt the same method as that which was formerly employed by the League of Nations, namely, the codification of international law by means of international multilateral conventions.

The experience already acquired in pursuance of this method has been very far from encouraging, however, and it is to be feared that a second attempt along the same lines will also result in failure. It may be remembered that the preliminary work, begun under the auspices of the League of Nations, culminated in an international conference which met at The Hague early in 1930. The program submitted to this conference consisted of but three subjects which, in the opinion of the governments concerned, were considered to be sufficiently advanced for codification: (a) nationality; (b) the delimitation of territorial waters; (c) the international responsibility of the state for prejudice against foreigners.

After lengthy discussions, the first codification conference was obliged to adjourn without having been able to draw up a convention on any one of these questions. With such a negative result in mind, one is justified in wondering whether it would not be preferable to await the gradual development of the jurisprudence of the International Court. The jurisprudence of its predecessor, the Permanent Court of International Justice, has already contributed several well defined principles and rules of law and it is permissible to consider that these have now been definitely included as a part of international law. When the International Court of Justice has also delivered a certain number of judgments and advisory opinions and has thus confirmed the jurisprudence which already exists, the authority attaching to the decisions of both courts will suffice to endow certain rules of law with a value equal to any that could be conferred on them by reason of their incorporation in collective conventions.

Whatever may be the degree of influence exercised by the jurisprudence of the Court upon the gradual codification of international law, it is certain that its decisions will possess the great merit of clarifying those rules of law which are the subject of divergent views, and of affirming others which are uniformly recognized by international doctrine and practice. It may be truly said, therefore, that the Court will make a generous contribution to the progress and codification of international law.

Members of the old Court of International Justice shown during one of their sessions in October 1945. Justice Guerrero is seated at the head of the table, in center.

PERSONAL OPINION

By VINCENT SHEEAN

Forthcoming comedy by Konstantin Simonov, famed Russian, is previewed by an authority on world affairs.

Vincent Sheean

WE HAVE read with interest—and I, at least, with great amusement—that Konstantin Simonov's new comedy to be produced soon in Moscow as the result of his American tour is called "The Russian Question." It should indeed be very funny, for nothing could have been more constant in the experience of that talented young writer on his visit to this country than the encounter with earnest interlocutors who wanted to know his views of the "Russian Question" or wanted to air their own. Since, after all, a young man of thirty who has grown up in the Soviet society cannot possibly be aware of any "question" involved in the matter, it must have produced a variety of comic situations which his lively and perceptive gift will exploit to the utmost. And indeed the word "question" as applied to forms of contemporary life has been much overworked, especially since the United Nations settled like a covey of pigeons in our midst. There are societies which form their citizens so completely that a generic "question" does not arise. One of these is the American society; another is the Russian. In the older societies of Asia this was so until quite recently, and is still true for many among them. What we usually mean when we use the word "question" with respect to them is something quite different, something not national at all, but international. If we speak of an "Indo-Chinese question" we are referring to the relations of the Indo-Chinese nations to their erstwhile protectors, the French; the "Indonesian question" refers mainly to a relationship between the Indonesians and the Dutch, with perhaps overtones of some other relationships as well; and so it goes down a limited but important list, in which countries become a Question when the degree or kind of their independent development is shadowed by the remnants of nineteenth-century imperialism.

Anglo-Russian Rivalry

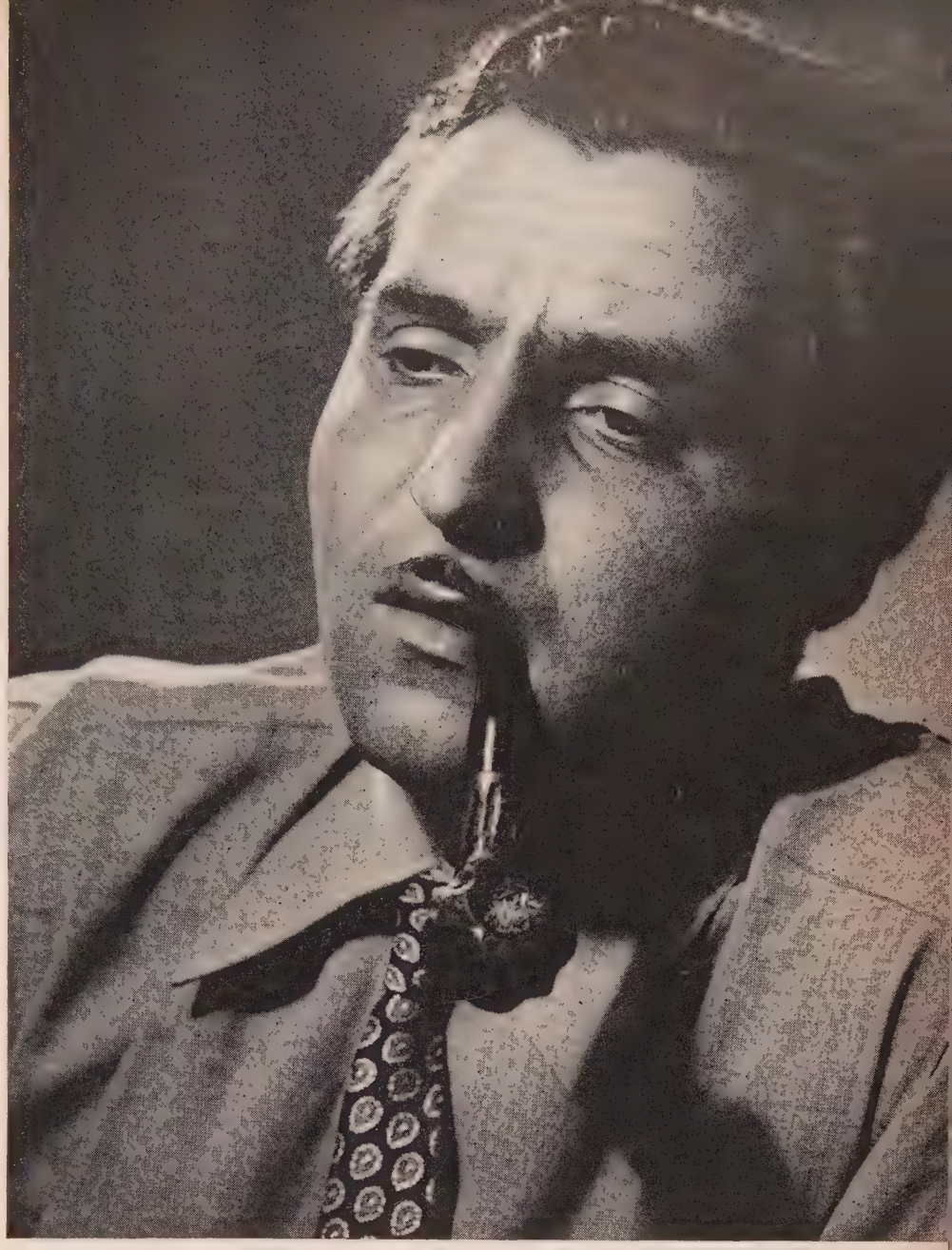
One of these which played a very special part during the year just ended, and which, we may feel quite sure, has not yet run its course, was known in the press as "the Question of Iran." For a good many weeks last spring I used to read the accounts of what took place in the Security Council and elsewhere on this subject and wonder, simply wonder, what the "question" was. There exists in Persia a pattern, and the change of name to Iran does not alter it in the least. It is the pattern of Anglo-Russian rivalry within the territorial limits of the Persian state. It has existed for about fifty years in an acute form, and before that, although its material manifestations were few, it undoubtedly played a part in forming the minds of the imperial on both sides. The pattern is that which is established anywhere on earth when powerful neighbors look at each other across the moribund body of a weak but wealthy state. The continued independence of Persia was due not to inherent strength in the state but to a combination of luck and skill in playing off these powerful neighbors against each other for many years. So far as can be discerned at this distance the game continues, and although mighty changes have taken place everywhere else, arousing their echoes even in Persia, the pattern remains undisturbed to this day. Thus we have *Pravda* in Moscow expressing fears that "reactionary influences" will control the Iranian elections, while in London, Washington and New York it is feared that "pro-Russian" influences will do the same. Aside from the new prominence given to Iranian affairs in our own press there appears to be nothing essentially novel in the situation, nothing that has not happened a great many times before. To adopt the dialect of the Security Council, it is not really a dispute—it is only a situation, and a very old one at that.

Twenty years ago, in the course of some months spent between Tehran, Isfahan and Shiraz, I formed some youthful impressions of the state of affairs in that part of the world. The Russians and British met at Tehran; but in the north the Russian influence prevailed, in the south the British. This had already been so for many years; it had indeed been crystallized in the arrangement known as the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1906, which in turn recognized a situation already existing. At Tabriz, for example, the Russion influence was as obvious as the Japanese influence at Mukden. I remember well the Russian hotel where I stayed there and the caviar for breakfast, the Russian shops, the menu written in Russian. This appears to have taken a more positive form in the past year, with Russian "advisers" and others appearing on the scene of the Azerbaijan autonomous region; and yet who could maintain that Azerbaijan was ever subjected to the central government at Tehran for long at a time? Only the brutal energy of Reza Shah, who assumed the family name of Pahlavi, brought about a temporary breakdown of the feudal autonomies into which Persia had for centuries been divided. Mazanderan (where Reza came from) was itself under periodic Russian influence. In the court, in very high places, the Anglo-Russian rivalry was mirrored. Teymortash, a favorite of the Shah and Minister of the Court when I was there, had been educated in Russia and was

accounted an unusually strong pro-Russian influence until his untimely demise. Other untimely demises occasionally removed other persons who were either too strongly pro-Russian or pro-British, but the names which occur in the despatches from Iran today are pretty much the same as those which would have occurred twenty years ago if America had had any interest in such despatches. For example Mr. Qavam, the present Prime Minister, was known as the Qavam el-Molk when I was there, but he is the same Prime Minister. Prince Muzaffa Firuz, who now appears to be intermittently Minister of Information, was a boy just home from school in England when I knew him, but when I remember the palaces of his family, his father and grandfather—princes of the old imperial line which Reza had deposed—and the vast extent of their estates, I find it difficult to take seriously the statement in a Washington column that he is now a "Soviet hireling."

A Feudal Society

In fact too much of what we read about Iran nowadays is written in the spirit of breathless discovery, as part of a process which seems to aim chiefly at whipping up a red-hot world drama on all possible stages. It may be regarded as unfortunate that the British control the oil of South Persia, along with most of its other resources, but this occurred a long time ago and we may, by and large, be glad that it was available to the British Navy during the last war. It may also be thought deporable that the Russians would like to share in the development of the oil of North Persia, but the thing is inherent in the situation and has been so. Any expansive moment in the history of Russia was bound to bring something of the kind; and from the point of view of historical reality it is clear that either the Russians must take charge of the development or there will be none. The Persians themselves cannot do it. Iranian society is still feudal to a degree Americans might find it difficult to imagine (unless, that is, they had visited in South Carolina). There is a practical serfdom; there is widespread slavery to opium; no real middle class has ever grown strong enough or numerous enough to provide a technology; great sections of the country are still the abode of nomadic tribes — the deserts and mountains are almost uninhabited. The Persian princes and feudatories have held whatever power there was, and still hold it, sometimes with the approval of the Russians, but theirs is primarily a class interest and not a national one. The long efforts made to control the opium production of Persia brought out these unhappy archaisms as sharply as anything else.

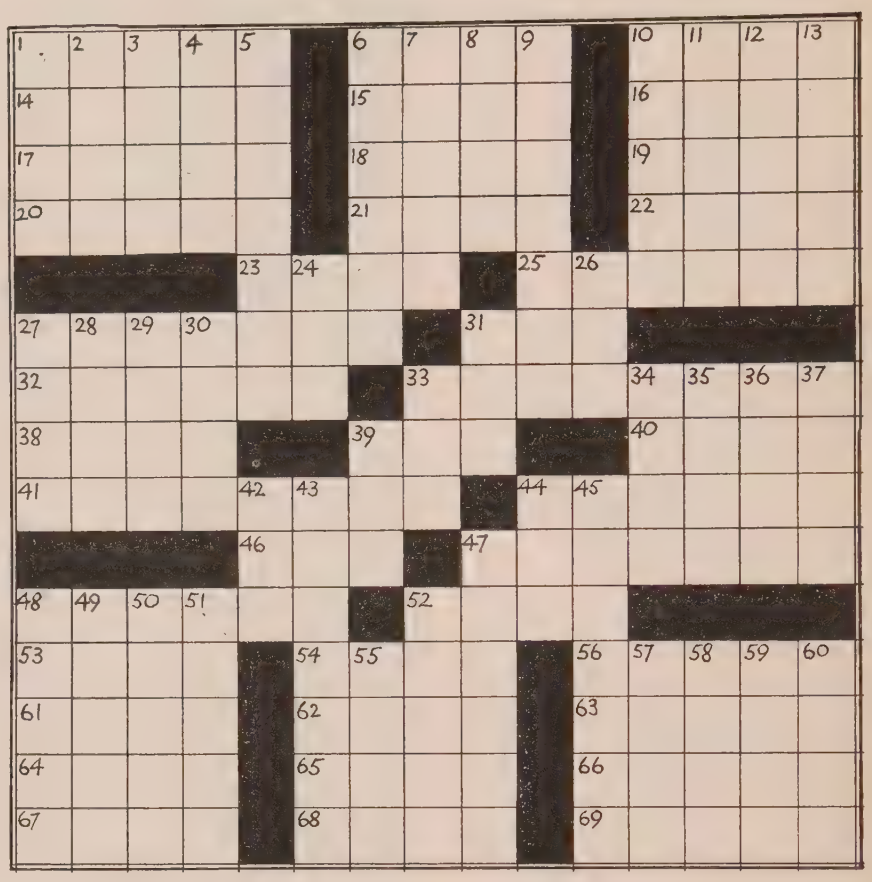


Simonov took a look at the U. S. and wrote a new comedy.

To treat this state and society as if it were (say) France, an integral part of the modern world, is one of the curious deviations from common sense which mark our present international atmosphere. Account must be taken of the past; Iran was not discovered when the Security Council first pounced upon it last year. The existing situation can never be understood if it is thrown at us as a sizzling new conflict full of conspiracies and sinister intentions. It is a pattern long familiar to every foreign office in the world. If we wish to initiate a new policy aiming at the exclusion of Russian influence from northern Iran, then let it be plainly labeled as a new policy, a departure from everything that has preceded, and let the reasons be given. It will then remain to be seen whether the Russians will consent to be excluded from a territory which has engaged their continuous interest for well over half a century, or whether they will not, in riposte, demand the exclusion of British influence from the southern part of the country. Unless, however, there is some totally new military concept on our own side, there is no apparent reason why we should be any more exercised over Iran than at any other time in the present century.

A United Nations Crossword Puzzle

The solution of this puzzle will appear in next month's issue.



Definitions—UNITED NATIONS PUZZLE

ACROSS

1 Goal of the UN
6 One of UN's newest members
10 Member of Big Five
14 After open discussion by UN, a crisis often does this
15 Easily filled by UN delegates' speeches
16 Mussolini coveted this French resort
17 Smiles
18 Mighty mite that challenges UN
19 Tussled with USSR in UN Security Council
20 Political parties in all the United Nations choose one at election time
21 Donned and doffed
22 GI wigwam
23 They oppose the ayes in UN General Assembly decisions
25 Security Council investigates these if they threaten peace
27 Delegates frequently receive these from home Hq.
31 Verb
32 Searcher
33 UN parliament
38 Roman patriot
39 Secretary-General of UN
40 Potpourri
41 Lightly sarcastic
44 Screech
46 Grain of cereal plant
47 A lid that can be clapped on parliamentary debate
48 Minimum attendance required in a voting body
52 Received (Fr.)
53 Unfasten
54 Most successful president of French government since liberation
56 The UN would like to see armaments of this kind cut down
61 Surmounting
62 The Fascists marched on this famous capital
63 What leading Nazis paid for at Nuremberg
64 Father
65 Churchill said the Russians dropped a curtain of this in Eastern Europe
66 Inserted
67 Notorious parachutist now doing life imprisonment
68 Vehicle
69 Many countries need these for rehabilitation

DOWN

1 Pins
2 Stanley Baldwin became one; Churchill reneged
3 Continent
4 Coin
5 Perfume
6 Success for the UN comes often in these
7 Ninth letter of Greek alphabet (pl.)
8 Cupid
9 There are fifty-five in the UN
10 The UN did
11 The UN wants to silence this blitz announcer for ever
12 Meager
13 Not payable for UN's New York site, thanks to John D. Rockefeller Jr.
24 Over
26 Letter in Secretary-General's first name
27 Spore sacs in fungi
28 Wives prefer darling
29 Most controversial point in Security Council procedure
30 Image
31 Peer Gynt's mother
33 To be ill
34 Dead (Fr.)
35 Blue (Fr.)
36 Goebbels was a champ
37 Dependencies look to UN Trusteeship Council to get out from under this
39 Pillar in Buddhist building
42 Requires payment
43 Fine white fabric
44 He wrote "Innocents Abroad"
45 The UN's most important one is dedicated to world security
47 Figuratively, good for binding international friendship
48 Suppress
49 Undo
50 Smells
51 The executioner needed a good supply of them at Nuremberg
52 The UN often collars this international trouble maker
55 Feminine name
57 The Yanks fought their way across it in Italy
58 The UN hopes to make this much easier to obtain
59 Verily
60 Common in tennis and racquets

Movies

HOLLYWOOD STARTS TO SLIP IN INTERNATIONAL BATTLE FOR MOTION PICTURE PREDOMINANCE

By ARCHER WINSTON

FOREIGN pictures dominated 1946 and 1947 may be the same. Pictures of widely praised quality are coming from England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and Australia. And just to make sure that these are not overlooked in the United States, Hollywood producers are still resting on their laurels, repeating past triumphs with new names, re-issuing and regurgitating, raking in unprecedented profits and wondering how long this perpetual triumph without cause can continue.

The answer of the New York Film Critics is that it has already ended. As the year came to its close they voted awards for best actor and actress performances to Laurence Olivier and Celia Johnson, both British. And further to show the way the tide was running their second and third choices for best picture of the year were both British, being "Henry V" and "Stairway to Heaven." Only Samuel Goldwyn's topically strong picture, "The Best Years of Our Lives," which received first choice, stood between Hollywood and complete oblivion in these awards. The London critics, who didn't see "The Best Years" in 1946, were unable to find a single American film to list among the year's best.

What are we witnessing—the end of an era? The end of several eras, of thirty years of dominance of world movie marts by Hollywood? One of the London critics, Dilys Powell, has an interesting suggestion to make. He writes that when Hollywood was on the verge of losing its mastery twenty years ago it met the threat by importing talent. But this has been a constant tactic and one which has made Hollywood one of the most truly international media of expression the world has known. Chaplin from England, Jannings, Lang and Dietrich from Germany, Boyer and Rene Clair from France, Hitchcock, Olivier, Colman, and Carol Reed Leigh, from England are but a few of the throng who come to Hollywood from all over the world. Now Mr. Powell suggests that talent importation, stars and directors are no longer enough. It is time to import subjects.

THE same thing has been said in a different way by I. G. Goldsmith, producer of one of the greatest films ever made in England, "The Stars Look Down". There have been more than a few who consider this film of the Welsh coal mines, with its sooty realism, its clear-eyed call for nationalizing the mines, and its honest appraisal of virtue and vice in individuals, a sensible choice as the greatest film ever made anywhere. It is revealing to note that when Mr. Goldsmith tries to explain the rise of British films in the last couple of years he attributes it to the discovery by British producers that the author is "the greatest single contributor to entertainment value of a film". He writes that British producers "have come to look upon the work of the writer as the axis upon which the talents and labor of all these others revolve."

This same system has been tried in Hollywood, where everything is tried sooner or later, and it has been successful. Preston Sturges, Billy Wilder, Frank Capra, Leo McCarey, and John Ford have combined with the greatest success two or more of the three main functions of picture-making—writing, directing and producing. The United States does not need to be told that this system works, or that it can be depended upon to bring forth pictures of originality and individuality, provided the hired genius has both. But American producers have a threefold, well-founded objection to these products. They cannot be mass-produced. They are subject to alarming fluctuations both as to internal content and external effect. They are therefore much more risky than standardized products.

TO put it bluntly, it will take more than the New York film critics, the London film critics, and all the other cinema soothsayers to budge Hollywood from its present procedures. That is the privilege of the dues-paying public. They, when they are like-minded in opposition, can move the stubbornest executive to a complete recasting of his theories of the perfect love-story.

Under these circumstances U. S. producers lay themselves open to the charge that they are all for One World . . . theirs. It is too bad that they cannot speak without the handicap of selfish motives, or support their arguments with less ruthless competition. The humanity-aiding arts of the films and their beneficent effects on mankind will blossom and be multiplied in direct proportions as restrictions are thrown out.

ONE enticing, impossible solution of the bristling competitive future is that every national film industry continue doing what it is best fitted to do. Hollywood can make the automatic-response pictures which depend only on the existence of a healthy spine, good reflexes, an IQ of modest proportions and a mental age of fourteen. This will embrace huge audiences and bring enormous financial returns, which will enable Hollywood to keep on financing spectacular scenes appealing directly to the nervous system.

The Swiss can keep on with multilingual exercises in human cooperation across language barriers. The Italians will have for their province emotions in the raw, accompanied by music or grandiloquence. The French will be invited to expand their view of man as an intellectual animal whose warring natures, one of which cannot be shown if there is too much censorship, frequently produce a kind of wry humor.

The Russians, when they stop win-

ning World II on the screen, will be expected to extol their way of life above all others. This will bring to light some splendid individuals and fine human achievements until, becoming alarmed once more at some real or fancied encirclement, the Russians return to the chest-thumping nationalism which marked the end of their last era of golden, peacetime values about 1937.

The British should be encouraged to continue turning an eye, now satiric, now discerning, on themselves. Their talent for literature and their widespread appreciation of it give them a good foundation for portraying the character that is the source of film greatness too.

That, I submit, might be an efficient division of labors. That it will please no single group of movie-makers goes without saying. For there exists no movie technician or executive so lacking in spirit, so devoid of explosive egotism, that he does not consider himself capable of improving on every kind of picture known to man, if he so desires.

These cycles of dominance in world movie-making seldom last only a single year. It looks as though 1947 will be known as the second year of the foreign pictures, for there is a deeply felt vitality pouring out of Europe's long suppressed artists of the film. They are like a spring released. Their enthusiasm breaks over into strange new forms, containing intensities not to be found for a while in Hollywood's vast mechanism of production. The banners of art and experimental cinema will be carried by European men on whose shoulders rest no massive studios, no executive deadweight, no million dollar budget, no imperative of a common audience of millions that must be enchanted.

These things will be interesting to watch for their normal period. Cross-fertilization and marriage-flights of talent will be noted in due season. Mexico may make the next great pictures, or South America, or India where they make so many. There is no growth without change, no change without risk. If it was excess prosperity that drugged Hollywood, the slaps now being generously administered, with poverty eventually added in small stimulating doses, will wake the slugguish giant again. Until then it's heigh-ho for Berlitz, English subtitles, and British dialects so mysterious they don't always need a plot.

Theater

TWO STARK EXISTENTIALIST PLAYS SHOCK PARIS AUDIENCE

by Robert Kemp

THE founder of the Existentialist* School, M. Jean-Paul Sartre, whose disciples are turbulent, is presenting two plays at the Theatre Antoine. They are *Morts sans sepulture*, or Death without Burial, and *La . . . . respectueuse*, or The Respectable . . . . (the dots represent a word which decent people do not voluntarily include in their vocabulary and which, in noble style, may be translated by "prostitute").

Both plays are a little surprising from the author of the *Mouches*, a tragedy in classical style, inspired by the three-thousand-year-old story of Electra and Orestes, and of *Huis-Clos*, which was a plunge into hell—a hell of solitude, of recanting of sins, a "mental" hell. The double surprise comes from the fact that *Morts sans sepulture* has the appearance of a simple description of the fratricidal and atrocious fight between the Resistance and the Vichy Militia. First, it is so little stylized as to encourage ill-wishers to compare it with the dramas of terror which have built up the reputation of success, errors, or scandals of the little theater of Grand Guignol. Secondly, *La . . . . respectueuse*, an effervescent fantasy, satirical and sometime extremely gross, is a curiosity in the manner of Bernard Shaw, directed, with a violent fist, against the Puritanism and the anti-Negro passions of the Americans. During the same evening, M. Sartre attacks the accomplices of the Germans, those misguided and sadistic Frenchmen who tortured captive Maquisards; and also the great nation, the United States, which aided so powerfully to expel the enemy from French soil.

M. Sartre, the pessimistic philosopher for whom, in contrast to the Pangloss of *Candide*, everything is for the worst in the worst of all possible worlds, does not perceive the slightest contradiction between these two works.

I speak of spectators. Not of milksops and of delicate gentlemen, who simulated fainting at the rehearsal of the *Couturieres*, and noisily left the room after *Morts sans sepulture*. Many of them, I fear, read without lifting an eyebrow accounts of tortures in the pre-Voltairian manner which the bands affiliated with the Gestapo, that of Rue Lauriston or others, inflicted on their captives to make them talk—that is, to betray patriots to the executioners. Because they see these tortures upon a stage they voice loud protests. Some may be sincere and have sensitive nerves. But many, I fear, protest only because they used to have vague sympathies for the ideology of militiamen and hangmen. They are displeased to be reminded of these shameful things; they would wish that one no longer would speak of them, and that the reconcilation of the victims or their relatives with the hangmen or their inspirers might be effected. That's a great deal to ask.

Actually, the author himself removed from *Morts sans sepulture* some of the atrocities which gave one goose-pimples. These cuts were reasonable and useful. It is now a beautiful and powerful play of which only the appearance is that of a Grand Guignol drama but one whose tragic text breeds noble thoughts.

Following an unsuccessful sally of a group of Maquisards, four of them are taken prisoner by the Vichy Militia. If they reveal the name of their leader and the place where sixty of their escaped comrades have found shelter, those comrades would be surrounded, taken and shot. Those sixty patriots, in the prime of their manhood and capable of serving France at the moment of the Allied landing, were depending on their silence—on their courage. If the dilemma were to *betray or die*, these brave men would not be hard put. But it would be necessary to suffer, to resist the blows of clubs,

*Existentialism is an esoteric doctrine first propounded by M. Sartre himself in his book *L'Etre et le Néant* ("Being and Nothingness"). Basic tenet: When all else fails, remember that you are at least alive.

to see their flesh martyred, their bones ground, to submit to all the punishments that hate and vice could inspire on their hangmen. Who would dare to swear he would not speak before passing through it? This is the supreme test of will—of the virtue of man. It is the one test which establishes definitive values. The anguish of these unfortunates, the intensity of their inner conflict, point without any doubt to the most poignant debate one can imagine since man came into being. It involves human morality, human dignity, human misery and grandeur.

Each of these, whom the art or arbitrary choice of M. Sartre has assembled in a granary where they await interrogation, was tortured and reacted in his own fashion. There is the mature man, master of himself, who is certain not to open his lips and to overcome the worst suffering brought to his nerve and to his mind. There is a child of fifteen, too weak for the terrible adventure into which he has plunged as if in a game. There is the woman, more hardened to evil, more proud, more hateful than the men.

Each met his fate accordingly. The child cried so much in his raucous adolescent voice that he would obviously not be able to remain silent. His comrades, distraught, weighed the worth of his life against that of the sixty men who would lose theirs through him—and they condemned him. The poor little one is strangled before the tormentors could call him. This horrible decision was accepted by all, yet they turned from the executioner with disgust. The doubting one who was ready to speak at the first torture found his solution. Before revealing the secret he jumps out of the window. It was not death that he feared. Suicide spares him physical suffering. The other man and the woman—who was vilely abused and who was filled with disgust at the thought of any part of her being either tortured or caressed—resisted.

On the side of the hangmen there are also nuances. The hideous Clochet is a sadist; he rejoices in the grimaces and cries of the victims. He tastes voluptuously their contortions and groaning. Chief Landrieu, on the contrary, can not perform his repulsive task of inquisitor without fortifying himself with gulps of alcohol until overcome by a heavy drunkenness in which he seems to find a salve for his conscience.

Morts sans sepulture might well be entitled *Mesure de l'Homme* (Measure of Man). The ancients used to say that nothing could be said of the happiness of a man, were he king or conqueror, before his death, for destiny is pregnant with all possible misery. Sartre has chosen an analogous theme: the test of physical suffering endured or unbearable according to the strength of will and the allegiance to a particular idea—the only test which reveals the basic values of man.

Torture in *Morts sans Sepulture.*

Such is the kernel of the fruit. On the surface, *Morts sans sepulture* is a documentary dispenser of shocks; a reproduction, quasi-photographic, of the foul realities of the war. Basically, it is a contrast of ignominy and human majesty, which are intermixed. It reveals the loftiest majesty of our race born out of the most atrocious and most ignoble tests.

* * *

La . . . respectueuse portrays Lizzie, a damsel who traffics in her young and ravishing body. One may have her for a few dollars. But her conscience is not so easily purchased. And when, in order to save a white man, she is requested to testify that a Negro has attempted to violate her, she refuses. This wretched soul holds perjury in greater horror than the puritans, the police, the phrase-making and libidinous Senator who try to tear it from her. She will not be pursuaded either by menace, coaxing, or by offers of money. She does not succumb, being simple of heart, except finally to noble ideas. The Senator makes use of these with adroit and eloquent sorcery. He pictures an old mother in tears, a hero of the war in peril . . . Hardly has she yielded, when her conscience returns. She wishes to save the innocent Negro. It is too late. She falls back into her role as a servant of vice.

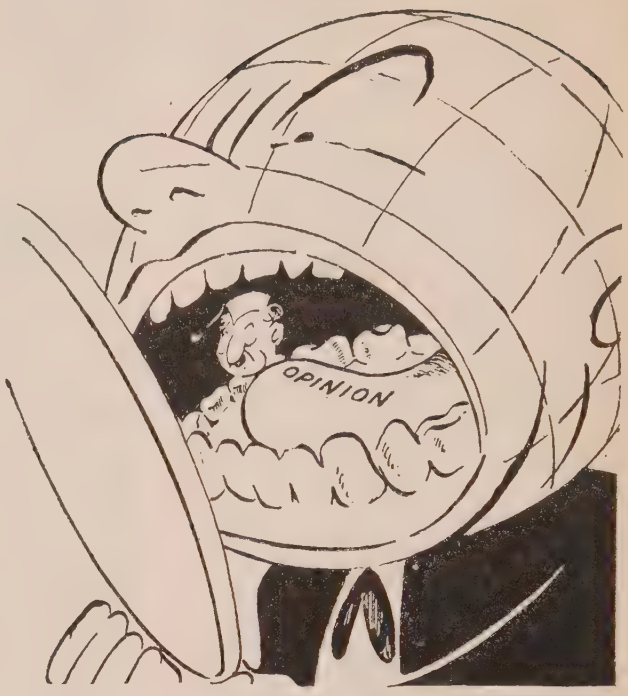
The play is full of movement, of blunt words, of ironic ferocity. It is amusing and a little sinful.

M. Sartre has certainly not surpassed himself in these two works. But neither has he lost any ground. He has demonstrated his versatility. His true path is high tragedy—which will never wear contemporary garments well.

Points of View

Moscow's Krokodil Pokes Fun at Russian Trains, Factories and Culture.

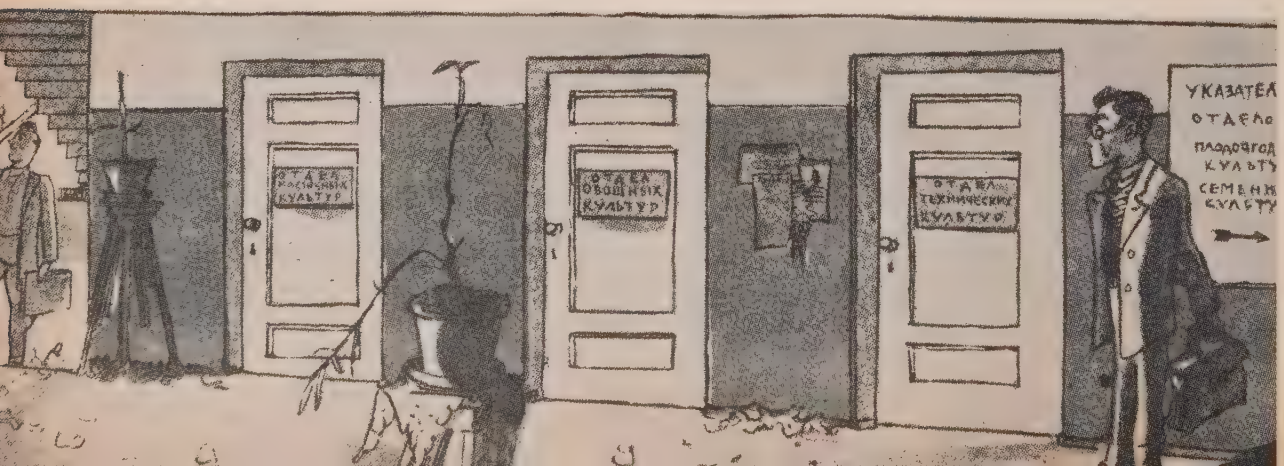
Grandpa Frost Comments on Russian Transportation
"Keep in mind that I am not a train. I shall not be late."
Krokodil, Moscow



The Toothache. *El Tiempo,* Bogota

The Inaccessible Fortress
"Do you have to wait long to see the manager?"
"I don't know. I'm new at the factory. It's only the third month I've been waiting." *Krokodil,* Moscow

Mine's Bigger. *Hellas,* London



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ture. *Krokodi*
Moscow

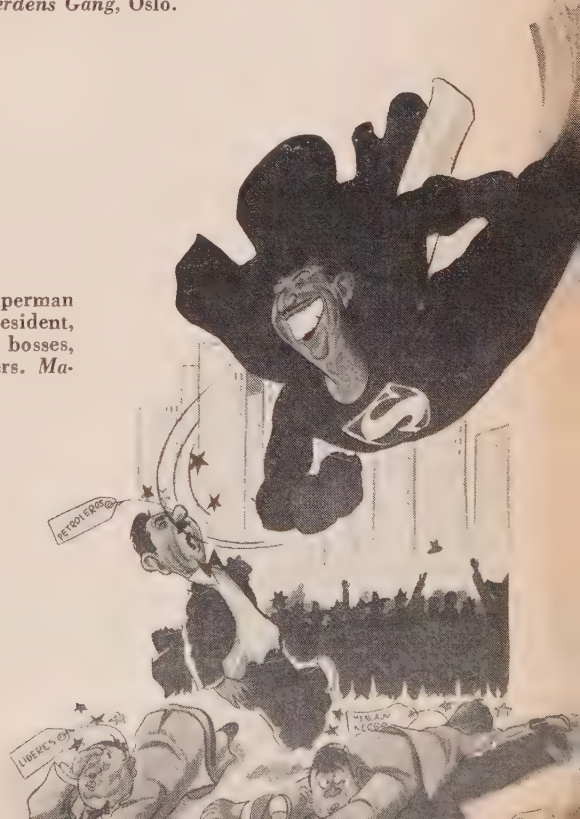
WE LEARN THAT THE RUSSIANS CAN LAUGH AT THEMSELVES—AND MOST OTHER PEOPLE CAN LAUGH AT SOMETHING

John Q. Public (of Egypt): "What about my say?"—*Middle East Opinion*, Cairo.

Mrs. Pandit of India comes home with a trophy after her battle with Smuts (South Africa) in the UN Assembly. *Slitz*, Bombay.

Everybody is Satisfied with his Piece of Cake. *Verdens Gang*, Oslo.

While thousands cheer, Superman Miguel Alemán, Mexico's president, K.O.'s oil biggies, political bosses, black marketeers and profiteers. *Mañana*, Mexico City.



Joe Doakes (Chilean version) to Uncle Sam: "Hey! What's the idea of going to the right while I'm going to the left," *Topaze*, Santiago.

The World Bookshelf

THE NEW BOOKS

Books for early spring feature an unusual number of novels of great interest from the international viewpoint. One that is sure to receive a great deal of critical attention is Look South to the Polar Star, by Holger Cahill. Harcourt, Brace are the publishers of this book, which is reminiscent of Malraux' novel of China, Man's Fate. The setting is the International Settlement of Shanghai and its dangerous hinterland in the days just before the Pearl Harbor explosion. It is a novel of adventure and violence, as well as a penetrating interpretation of Chinese life and spirit.

A shift of scene is provided by Black Fountains, scheduled for mid-March. This is a story of Japan during the war. The central character is an American-educated Japanese girl who takes up life in what was to her almost a strange land. This book won for its author, Oswald Wynd, the $20,000 Doubleday Prize Novel Award for 1947.

The problems of underprivileged, ignorant, and misled peasants comprise the central themes of several new novels with Latin-American settings. In Deep Forest (Reynal & Hitchcock), Dr. Norman E. Nygaard first exposes his hero to the revolutionary influences of the big cities—then takes him back to his native village in the jungles of Colombia determined to end the exploitation of his people by less violent means. The Mexican revolutionist, Passos, also angered by injustice, is the leading character of The Rod and the Staff (Harper), by Marc Brandel, who wrote Rain before Seven.

Two forthcoming novels laid in Russia offer contrasting viewpoints. In Sons (Doubleday), V. A. Smirnov, a well-known Russian writer, describes the adaptation of the people of a small town to communism in the period between the two World Wars. A Room on the Route (Lippincott) by Godfrey Blunden, is a novel of wartime, of the people living in a Moscow apartment house and their hostile reaction to Soviet leaders.

In The Catoctin Conversations, to be published by Scribner, Jay Franklin adopts a strikingly original form to carry out a discussion of world problems. The book consists of an imaginary conversation in which Roosevelt, Churchill, Hanfstaengl, Baruch, Harry Hopkins, and the author himself get together with lively results.

Maurice Hindus, whose We Shall Live Again is one of the outstanding war novels, makes an analysis of Czechoslovakia today in The Bright Passage (Doubleday), scheduled for March. The well-known Soviet journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, estimates the new spirit and forces in the Balkans in his account of a postwar journey through those countries, European Crossroad (Knopf). The case for the Polish London government and sharp criticism of Allied policies is contained in Defeat in Victory (Doubleday) by Jan Ciechanowski, former Polish Ambassador in Washington.

Problems on the other side of the world are dealt with in Star-Spangled Mikado (McBride), a controversial book on Japan under American occupation by Frank Kelley and Cornelius Ryan. Divided India (Whittlesey House) contains an examination of political, religious and economic questions in India today by Robert Aura Smith, who was in that country for OWI from 1941 to 1946.

With China's future course in the balance, one of the most important and timely volumes of this spring is the official pronouncement of Kuomintang policy by Chiang Kai-shek. This book, China's Destiny, together with its sequel, Chinese Economic Theory, will be published in one volume by Roy Publishers. Widely distributed in China throughout the war years, it is now appearing for the first time in an English translation. Macmillan will also bring out China's Destiny, with an introduction by Lin Yutang, a few weeks after the Roy edition.

Four interesting books on the Nazi war criminals are also scheduled. They are The Nürnberg Case (Knopf), as presented by Robert H. Jackson, Chief Counsel for the United States, in his reports to the President; 22 Cells in Nuremberg (Greenberg), a study of the top Nazis by Douglas M. Kelley, M. D., official United States Army psychiatrist; The Memoirs of Dr. Felix Kersten (Doubleday), who was Himmler's physician and also attended Hitler, Goering, Ribbentrop and Hess; and Design for Aggression (Harper), the factual story of Hitler's war plans based entirely on captured enemy documents, by Peter De Mendelssohn.

—Alice Payne Hackett

Thirty New Books From Everywhere

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SEEN FROM E. A. Three International Episodes,

by Herbert Feis. New York, Knopf. $2.75

As adviser on International Economic Affairs in the State Department, Herbert Feis was closely connected with the three episodes on which his book is built. The difficult effort to put over the critical need for American rubber before the war is the first; then the attempt to get much needed American oil in the Near East; and finally, the failure of the democracies to keep Mussolini from securing oil for his Abyssinian conquest. The moral pointed up is that only a strong United Nations with drastic control of lethal weapons can prevent future wars. As one more plea for security the book serves an urgent cause.

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The Impact on International Affairs, by H. E. Wimpiris. London, Constable & Co., Ltd. 6s. ($1.20)

This book grew out of a survey made at the invitation of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Among the subjects discussed by the author, who is an authority on aeronautical engineering and aeronautics, are the source of atomic energy, the possibilities in industrial and economic development and the need for control—and here he puts his faith in the United Nations.

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by Michael A. Heilperin. New York, Knopf. $3.00

Dr. Heilperin pivots his discussion around four main subjects: The Trade of Nations, Economic Nationalism, Towards a World Economy, and the United States and the World Economy.

EUROPE

LES SECRETS DE LA GUERRE

Dévoilés par Nuremberg, by Raymond Cartier. Paris Librairie Arthéme Fayard. 200 francs ($1.75)

On the basis of the documents collected for the Nuremburg trial, the author gives a pretty complete historic view of the various phases of the Hitler policies and aggressions.

BIEN-ETRE ET POPULATION

by Alfred Sauvy, Director of the French National Institute of Demographic Studies. Paris, Les Éditions Sociales Françaises. 90 francs (75c)

A study of the different aspects of French population problems and of the conditions favorable to the growth of French families.

CAUSERIES SUR L'EDUCATION

by Louis Peyssard. Paris, Les Editions Sociales Françaises. 200 francs ($1.75)

This book deals with family education, and particularly with the relationship between parents and children. The concept of the book is old-fashioned and contains only a few indications about the new France.

TOWARDS A FREE EUROPE

by J. H. Harley. London, Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d. ($1.50)

Mr. Harley discusses Europe's problems and offers solutions for the economic and political difficulties which have arisen between western democracy and the totalitarian state.

U. S. S. R.

MEMOIRS OF ILYA MECHNIKOV

Moscow Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Publishing House. 14 rubles

This book includes Professor Mechnikov's "personal observations," a diary which he kept till his death. It also contains a number of articles and notes written at various periods of his life, describing, among other things, his meetings with Pasteur, Lister, Koch, A. Kovalevasky, the famous Russian embryologist, and Leo Tolstoi.

THE COMRADES

by Anatol Kalinin. Rostov-on-the-Don Publishing Concern. 12 rubles

The latest novel of the young and upcoming Soviet author Kalinin has for its setting the steppes of the Ukraine during the sultry summer of 1942. The heroes of the novel are two privates of the Red Army. They are part of a company which made the grim and difficult retreat from Lvov to the Don River. Through their actions and reactions the author conveys the fighting atmosphere of the Eastern front.

THE U. S. S. R., A Geographical Survey

by James S. Gregory and D. W. Shave. New York, John Wiley & Sons. $4.25

First published in London in 1944, this geographical survey of the Soviet Union is now being offered to American readers. In view of the great size and importance of the Soviet Union, it is unpardonable that so little is available in English on Russia's geographical background and economic resources. This book helps to fill the gap.

ASIA

CHINA

edited by Harley Farnsworth MacNair. University of California Press. $6.50

Unlike most symposiums, CHINA, the fifth volume in The United Nations Series, holds together as a unit. To the editor praise is due for his careful planning and arrangement of material and for his happy selection of contributors, one-third of them Chinese.

PORTRAIT OF THE DALAI LAMA

by Sir Charles Bell. London, Collins. 21s. ($4.20)

This posthumously published work offers a fascinating behind-the-scenes picture of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, who felt closer to Sir Charles Bell than to any other Westerner or, indeed, to most Tibetans.

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD, Patterns of Japanese Culture

by Ruth Benedict. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin. $3.50

Ruth Benedict gives her findings in Japanese behavior patterns, shows how the Japanese have been bound through the ages by countless obligations and duties from family to Emperor. This is a brilliant, objective study of the older Japan.

JAPAN, Past and Present

by Edwin O. Reischauer. New York, Knopf. $2.00

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UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE

by I. F. Stone, New York, Boni & Gaer. $2.50

As a reporter for *PM*, the author covered the voyage of one of the illegal ships en route to the Holy Land. The book is one of the most moving ever written on this subject. Mr. Stone describes the enthusiasm of the illegal immigrants for "Eretz Israel" with poignant vividness.

LATIN AMERICA

THE STRICKEN LAND, The Story of Puerto Rico

by Rexford G. Tugwell. New York, Doubleday. $4.50

This account of the dramatic and colorful five-year stewardship of one of the few able governors sent to Puerto Rico by the United States should do much to increase understanding and interest in the problems of dependent peoples throughout the world.

SLAVE AND CITIZEN

by Frank Tannenbaum. New York, Knopf. $2.00

The two chief themes of this stimulating book are the basis of color prejudice in North America and the reasons behind the difference in the status of the Negro in the two Americas.

JOURNEYS IN TIME

compiled by Blair Niles. New York, Coward McCann. $4.00

Twenty-nine selections by twenty-six writers on Latin America from 1519 to 1942, in most of which nature and the picturesque predominate.

PRESENCA DO BRASIL

by Joao de Barros, preface by Ribeiro Couto. Lisbon, Dois Mundos.

A collection of articles and lectures covering the period from 1912 to 1946 by a Portuguese writer who knows Brazil well.

RIO DE JANEIRO (Terras e aguas de Guanabara).

Text by Afrânio Peixoto. Water colors by Felisberto Franzini. Brazil, Sao Paulo.

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CHILE

A famed world traveler, examining Central and South America, sends back a revealing picture of life among the Chileans.

BY CARLETON BEALS

A RAT pulled one of my wife's last nylon stock half through a hole in the wall in the Grand E of Temuco in Chile.

"Oh, yes," said the chambermaid, "I know which that is. I've been intending to get after him."

I know perfectly well that this is the wrong way to b a travel article. But no traveler has to go to Temuco. can loll around in the sun of swank Viña del Mar Valparaiso, drink cocktails on the terraces overlooking sea, gamble in the municipal-owned casino and have best in the most elegant setting. Few places are more s fying or more magnificent.

Or the traveler can put up at the fine first-class hoste scattered through the marvelous lake country of C where there are a dozen splendid vistas compared to one that Switzerland has to offer: Hotel Puerto Vara Lake Llanquihue or the establishments in Petrohué Puella on All Saints Lake. The visitor will emit quit many extravagant exclamations as did Teddy Roosevelt when he looked over one of the world's most superb bo of water at the endless march of the snow-clad height the Andes and the sheen of a thousand tints of lilac, gr blue and purple on snow, glacier and water.

Probably few places in the world still offer such g fishing and hunting as southern Chile, and that certa

is a way to meet up with some of the simpler typical folk of the country. Skiing down the Andes, only a few miles out of Santiago, at any time of the year is an exhilarating experience, but personally I should not feel that I had known Chile unless I had visited Temuco and the Araucano Indian villages scattered on up the valleys toward the Andes. I should not feel that I had known Chile until I had seen the harsh northern nitrate country and its bitter struggle for elementary life on the one hand and the gamble for riches on the other. Nor should I feel that I had known Chile without threading the great misty archipelagos to the south, until I had rubbed elbows with the coal-miners, the sheep-herders, the wheat and cattle men, and the adventurers of a hundred countries there in Punta Arenas on the straits that the early tourist Magellan exploded so long ago—except for a small settlement in Argentina Punta Arenas is the most southerly city in the world.

Properly to understand Temuco, one should read the great Chilean classic, *La Araucana,* by the early Spaniard Ercilla y Žuñiga, who has since given his name to one of Chile's leading publishing houses. One should read the intimate and sympathetic observations of that eighteenth-century French traveler, Amadée Frézier. *A Voyage . . . along the coasts of Chile and Peru.* And everything in Chile is pointed up by reading the *Voyage of the 'Beagle'*, the chronicle of the greatest of all travelers to visit Chile: Charles Darwin. He sifted the sands of Chile between his fingers and gave every grain a special meaning.

Chile is the most thoroughly mestizo country in Latin America. There the blood of Spanish conqueror and native Araucano has been most completely mixed. The Chilean himself is so thoroughly Chilean by now that he has little sympathy with his origins, Spanish or Araucano. Mostly the Chileans are intent on wiping out the Araucano culture, forcing the Araucanos to dress in European style, to put on blue jeans and leave off wearing their beautiful breast-plates of hammered silver. This will be too bad, for one of the main attractions of the country will be lost; it is too bad, for the Chilean is not one of the artistic spirits of Latin America, and nothing the modern Chilean has done compares to the fine inspiration still found in Araucano textiles and silverwork. And some of the best Chilean music is based squarely on Araucano themes.

But the Araucano is sturdy in his resistance, a spirit he has demonstrated ever since the Incan armies descended on the Chilean Vales of Paradise seven centuries ago. For three centuries the Spaniards had to work with their arms close at hand. And only sixty years ago did the Araucanos make final peace with Chile, the Republic, in formal treaty, recognizing their rights to their own land, government and culture.

"Why do you want to spend so much time in Temuco?" a travel agency asked me. "It's a dilapidated place and only Indians to see."

But after watching the dances near Iquique and Antofogasta, after going over the anthropological collection in the basement of the National Museum of History, and the objects in the University Exhibit on Santa Lucia hill in Santiago, one gets a clearer idea how the sturdiness, austerity, good-humor and skill of the Araucano has entered into the making of modern Chile, in spite of the long years of stubborn resistance.

Puritanism

The Chilean is the Puritan of Latin America. It is not a sex puritanism; it is a product of stern struggle with nature and with poverty. It is a martial puritanism. The Araucano bore that stamp. The Chileans absorbed it from the color of the tawny desert. from the sharp crags of the Andes and from the Araucano. It has made the Chilean slightly dour, brusque, even bad-mannered at times. It has made him a lover of forms, of law, of precise conduct. He loves rules rather than artistry. And it has a Scotch note. Innumerable are the jokes about Chilean parsimoniousness. Near Puerto Montt is a notched hill. "A Chilean dropped a penny there, and he scooped out the hill trying to recover it." . . .

"I thought you were on your honeymoon," a friend asked.

"I am."

"But where is your bride?"

"We decided to spend our honeymoon in Antofagasta. She's up there now. But I've already seen Antofagasta so there's no use my wasting money on it."

Apparently in the central valleys, rich with flowers and vineyards, life is almost perfect. But the so-called Vales of Paradise do not provide enough food-products for all Chile. The deserts, the mountains, the misty forests close in on the Vales. The latter are merely an oasis, where the farm workers, the miners, the workers of Chile—the rotos—drift in and out in their long treks from job to job, from field to mine, from cattle-range to lumber camp.

But this stern struggle for existence in Chile has made of this people one of the most industrious and determined in South America. They have the finest railroads on the continent, but they have cost more to build and to operate than they will ever return in profits. They are symbols of patriotism, of national pride, of military strategy, of the desire for unity in a people scattered in so many isolated pockets along the narrow coastal plain. But commercially they can never be profitable.

When I finished zig-zagging through the nitrate deserts of the north, an English friend in the bank at Coquibo remarked, "Now you have the worst of Chile behind you."

Carleton Beals, one of the best-informed North American writers on Latin America, was born in Medicine Lodge, Kansas, but grew up in California. A graduate of the University of California, he took an M.A. at Columbia and studied at several Latin American and European universities. Soon after the first world war, he became principal of the American High School in Mexico City and also an instructor on the private staff of President Venustiano Carranza. When General Sandino was fighting American marines in Nicaragua in 1928, Beals crossed overland through the jungles of Honduras and Nicaragua to interview him. Over the years he has met many of the presidents and leaders of the Latin American countries, and has observed at firsthand many of the revolutionary upsets in Mexico, Central America, Cuba and elsewhere. Author of 22 books, Beals, now 54, has also traveled extensively in Europe and was in Italy during the Fascist march on Rome. He has just returned from a nine months' trip through Latin America.

Call it the worst if you will. Certainly you will not find the comfort and ease to be found in the great sea resorts from Papudo on south, from Viña del Mar to Concepción, with one of the finest, most elegant and most remarkable hotels in the world; but there is a spell not to be found elsewhere in the country. From the Pacific Hotel, in neat glistening Arica on the Peruvian border, to the central vales, there is not a first-class place to stay, and sometimes accommodations are downright bad, but the ports have the commercial bustle of New World enterprise. They have, for all their isolation, their plaza music and promenades in the old Spanish style, an international flavor due not merely to the British and American banks, but because they are Pacific outlets for Argentina and Bolivia. And the new railroad pushing up from Antofogasta to Salta in Argentina will bring the heart of the latter country thousands of miles nearer New York.

Perhaps the finest winter climate (our summer) and the absurd quaintness of the center of Iquique will not compensate for the mountains of piled-up nitrate, the dirtiness and the tangle of shacks and slums that make up most of the port. You will not be able to display your newest swim suit (although there is a resort of sorts ten miles away) because of the harbor-front being occupied by railroad yards, warehouses and general refuse, but certainly you will get some idea of the cost Chile has to pay in order to export raw materials at prices set abroad, in order to get sufficient food. It will be worth knowing first-hand, perhaps, that the modern international scramble for raw materials has left little of the beauty and dignity that accompanied even the brutal Spanish conquest centuries ago. It has brought luxury, but not at the scene of operations, not in Iquique with its appalling poverty, but farther down the coast in the palaces of Valparaiso and Santiago.

Chileans are industrious people. This hooded fellow works in a match factory at Talca, south of Santiago.

The desert plain, really a tangle of utterly sterile mountains pushing down to the sea from the Andes, is an experience in itself, with its great white sheets of nitrate, its barren slopes, its magnificent coloring, from bright orange to purple and shading on down to the most delicate pastel shades, and above all the great snow barrier of the Andes so close at hand. The train rolls in white with nitrate dust, and you will even taste it at times. But there is nothing more splendid for majesty and color effects than the plane flight from Antofagasta down to Coquimbo, with a stop at the primitive garden spot of Copiagó. To the left are the great snow ridges and peaks of the Andes, below are the browns and oranges and whites of the sloping valleys, with black rocks strewn like licorice from a child's bag, and beyond, frequent glimpses of the sea. You will know the people of northern Chile and their struggle with nature much better after such a trip. You will see the whole width of Chile at a glance, a land pinched between vast crags and the ocean—the eternal dual realities of the country known as Chile, the frame that compasses every activity.

The Frontier

The struggle in the mist-lands of southern Chile is almost as severe, though the food problem may not be so great. There in the tangle of archipelagos—and one whole province of Chile is made up wholly of islands, a thousand of them—in the deep Norway-like fiords that cut clear to the backbone of the snowy Andes, in the dense forests, you will see the Chilean frontier, you will catch the spirit of the people still moving into the frontier.

They have cut holes in the fine forests—and Chile has some splendid lumber—and made new settlements. Into that incredibly picturesque southern port, Puerto Montt, people from unknown spots in the forests on the lagoons and fiords, appear magically on wooden rafts, propelled by motors or sails and loaded with garden stuff for the market. They have pushed into corners of Chilóe, the big island; they have settled in Puerto Ayssen and the valleys above—five hundred miles beyond the end of the railroad line; in Natales, hidden at the head of a two-hundred-mile fiord, winding in and out among evergreen forests and lofty hills; and last July, the first regular air service linked up southern Punta Arenas and its new oil fields with Santiago. In general character the folk of that region remind me very much of the people of Maine and Vermont.

Gradually one gathers an increasing admiration for this land and its people. Perhaps they are too chauvinistic, too militarist in spirit, too aggressive, a bit too theatrical with their symbols of patriotism and imposed law, but in part this is merely whistling to keep their courage up. For this long thin land which has achieved unity in the face of Nature's denial, which has had to build its roads and railroads in defiance of valleys running down to the sea and cutting it into fragments, has called forth from its people a mastery of all obstacles at home and abroad. Everything has cost too much in Chile. Everything has been too inaccessible. Railroads, settlements, food, houses, government, law, art and literature have cost too much. But there they are, and let not those scoff who came from nations where the blessings of life have been easier to get at and to use.

In spite of handicaps the Chileans have done better than many another people having to face fewer difficulties. With one of the smallest populations in Latin America, Chile prints more books than any other Spanish-American country except Argentina. (Mexico may surpass it if government publications are included). There are more book stores in the towns and cities than in similar-sized communities in the United States.

The desert, the Vales of Paradise, the mist-lands, Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego—these are the regional realities of Chile. Each is broken up into bits by Nature. All are unified by the industry and will of the people; they are tied into a long sausage of Chilean nationality by the wrappings of ocean and Andes.

In its own peculiar way, Chile in many directions has taken the lead in Latin America; in city planning, in public housing, in workers' legislation, in the planning of new industries necessary for the country but not immediately attractive for private enterprise, and in many other progressive efforts for the general welfare.

The wise traveler to Chile will not merely cast a languid eye at the bright sands of Viña del Mar; he will want to see this new Chile in the making. And few countries in the world have so many facilities for getting to places as has Chile. Nature said otherwise; it is the Chilean people who have made it that way.

FRANCE

POLISHES THE BARS, MAKES CHILDREN VISITOR-CONSCIOUS, SWEATS OVER SOUVENIRS, ROLLS OUT RED CARPET FOR SPRING'S TOURISTS

BY LAURA VITRAY

UN WORLD ROVING CORRESPONDENT

DO YOUR Tourist shopping early! About 130,000,000 Americans are alleged to be planning to quit the U.S.A. next Spring, and unless you hurry you may find yourself among the 129,599,106 who are left waiting at the Hudson River pier or the airline terminus for want of accommodations.

French *Tourisme* authorities report that any American worthy of having his name in the telephone book will be on the Continent next summer, provided he can get here, which he probably can't. And they are happy as can be to think that those unfortunate Americans, who all through the war years had nowhere to stay but home (or if they did get over here on a conducted tour would like to come back now and show the little woman around) are going to be able to escape from the hot, dusty, uncultured United States in summertime, where there is nothing to eat but hot dogs with mustard, nothing to drink but whiskey, nothing to smell but exhaust gases, nothing to listen to but commercials—and refresh their spirits in a temperate atmosphere of *lièvre* stuffed with truffles, *champagne veritable, parfums exquis* at $10 per dram, and *amour*, ah, *parlez-moi d'amour!*

Preparing to give the Americans a hero's welcome, crews are already polishing up the Montmartre, the *Folies Bergeres* and the Pyrenees, manufacturing 499,000 two-inch replicas of the Eiffel Tower, teaching the American language in the public schools, and conducting radio courses in politeness toward foreigners.

The whole, unvarnished international conspiracy to transplant half a million Americans (at least 300,000 to France) was revealed to me by two of its master minds: Henry Ingrand, *Commissaire Géneral de Tourisme*, who has just been to the United States to negotiate the exodus; and Charles Ritz of the Ritz (not hairdresser, not chef, but the veritable Mr. Ritz, whose mother is Madame Ritz of the

Ritz) who has just been to Brittany on a tip from Ernest Hemingway that there ought to be big game fishing up there that would push Nova Scotia off the map of the world. Mr. Ritz discovered something that . . . .

But wait. Mr. Ingrand explained the economic necessity of the American migration. If I had any qualms about the luring of so many naive Americans from their habitat I was reassured after Mr. Ingrand told me he had dined in Washington at the home of Eugene Meyer, then President of the World Bank. If Mr. Meyer favored the migration it is all right, for he is a good American and an honest man, as well as a friend of France.

Where was I? Mr. Ingrand explained that American ex-G.I.'s, schoolteachers, college students, old ladies with life savings to blow in, butter-and-egg men et al, need have no scruples about coming over to France and gorging themselves next summer. In the pleasantest and most painless manner, they will be saving the Fourth Republic, he said. And no French will go hungry—first, because the food situation is getting better all the time; second, because plans are being made to scatter the dinner guests widely; third, because when you already have set the table for 40,000,000, another 300,000 or so who sit down aren't even noticed. Furthermore, the Americans need not worry about starving, themselves—because the calf is being fattened for them, likewise the pig, the *lapin*, the frogs' legs (on the frog, *naturellement*) the *escargots*, the *dinde*, and so many other juicy morsels that space forbids enumerating them all.

"But even," said Mr. Ingrand dramatically, "but even if the Frenchman were obliged to pull in his belt to feed the hungry Americans, believe me their coming would be fortunate for us! Of course we do not want too many tourists who are 'lone wolves' wandering about France just yet. (Mr. Ingrand employed the word *wolf* in its more archaic sense.) We prefer the type of tourist who buys his whole trip in advance, and pays for it in dollars in the States. This permits us to know where the tourist will be *when*, and how many of him will be there at any given time (Paris, Deauville, Vichy, Biarritz, Cannes, Nice, etc.) and to have his dinner ready when he gets there.

"Second, by paying in dollars in the States, the tourist not only knows just how much it is going to cost him before he starts (*exception faite de quelques bouteilles de parfums, le champagne, les robes de haute couture* and a few such baubles as that) but—*but*—he gives France the dollar credit in the States that she needs so urgently, so desperately, with which to buy American machines for her factories, American raw materials, American coal—those things that are required to rebuild our French industries!

"Thus, by coming to France and enjoying himself the American tourist helps make jobs for Frenchmen (Frenchmen in factories, plus 1,200,000 who live by *tourisme*: waiters, cooks, dishwashers, chambermaids, seamstresses, milliners, *dactylographes*). And he likewise helps make jobs for Americans: those who make what we buy with tourist dollars."

To reward the American tourist for graciously consenting to plan in advance, the Fourth Republic, Mr. Ingrand said, has a project on foot to remit all luxury taxes on hotel bills, restaurants and other items, for such tourists alone.

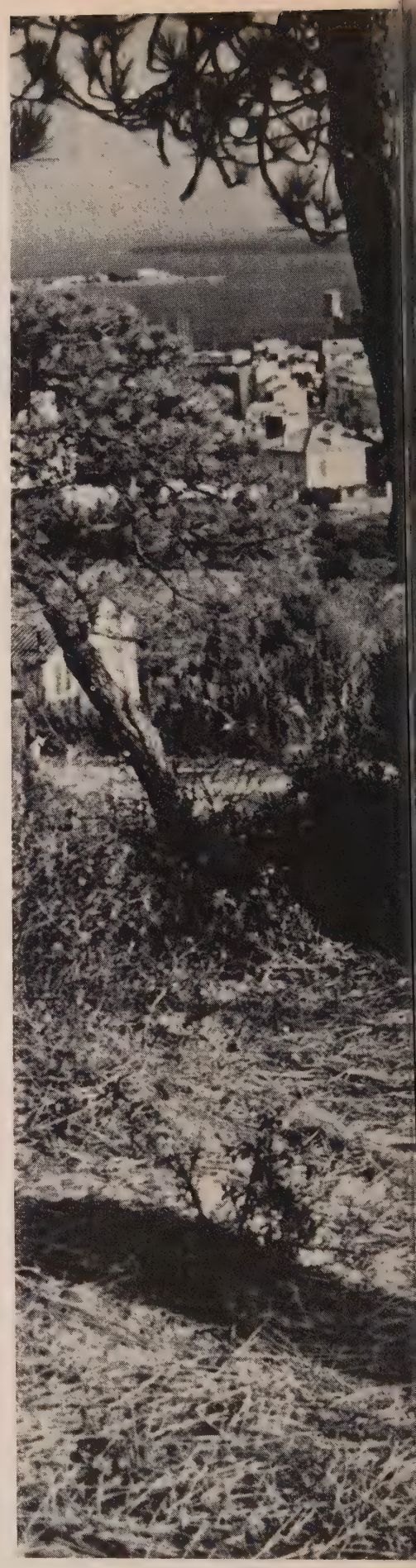
"But ah, explain to Americans," he said, "that planning in advance does not mean traveling in groups. Crowds —no, not that! *On n'aime pas cela!* One goes where one desires, one goes alone (*pas tout-a-fait seul j'espere!*) —but alone! It is just that one knows in advance (with the advice of a good travel agent *bien sûr*) where one is headed. It is much, much easier on the nerves!"

A good place to treat liver trouble is Vichy, a delightful watering spot you may have heard about. (Or maybe you hadn't.)

But you may prefer wine to sparkling water. California can say what it will, there is an ancient collaboration of sun and soil in such regions as Bourgogne, Champagne and Bordeaux that cannot be imitated in a country as new as the United States.

Cannes is such a smart resort that it grows orchids in the sky each evening when the sun sinks below the Mediterranean. The bathing is good the year round except for December; there are palms, and groves behind the beach where one can loll if the noon sun grows too hot; and the rates are cheaper in summer.

Do not let us overlook returning G-I's with simpler tastes and with brides who regard them as heroes. For



such, there will be tours to the North of France, to the battlefields and landing beaches, organized under "comfortable" conditions, Commissaire Ingrand assured. And of course, every G-I wants to see Paris. . . .

I knew I should be obliged to speak about Paris eventually, though of course all tourists must not invade it at the same time. But leave it to your travel agent and he will be sure to get you here. Once here, you will want to do the art galleries (*art moderne, art classique*), the Opera (*grand et comique*), the theatres (*Comédie Française, boulevard, avant-garde*), the department stores (Galeries Lafayettes, Printemps, Trois Quartiers, Samartaine), the Big Dressmaking Houses (Hermes, Lanvin, Patou, Maggy Rouff —do bring travelers' checks), the rue de la Paix (diamonds, pearls, perfume), the Montmartre (*Rat Mort, Lune Rousse, Chat Noir, Le Ciel, L'Enfer*), the music halls (*Casino de Paris, Folies Bergeres*), the great restaurants (Maxim, *Le Doyen, La Tour d'Argent*), after which you will fall into bed at some good hotel (Ritz, Meurice, Crillon)—if you want something cheaper your travel agent will find it for you! The Ritz Bar, of course, is the place where all migrating Americans will migrate for rendezvous.

Speaking of the Ritz reminds me that I was going to tell you of my conversation with Charles Ritz of the Ritz.

It seems that Ritz (Charlie) is an ardent angler and member of the International Game Fishing Association, of which Michael Lerner is the master mind, while other illustrious adherents include Ernest Hemingway, Kip Farrington and Van Campen Heilner. Members of the association are interested in fish gastronomically, scientifically, and above all sportively.

Ernest Hemingway, at present relaxing at his elegant home in Havana, has had time to think over the findings of Lerner, with especial reference to the habits of big tuna fish. Recently he wrote to his friend Charlie Ritz to say that unless his calculations were wrong, not only the Americans show a tendency to migrate toward France, but also the big varieties of tuna. He thought perhaps these big butter-and-egg tunas might be found sporting off the Brittany Coast.

Was there excitement when that letter reached Paris! (*Croyez-le moi, oui!*) Without waiting an instant (and seeing clearly the long-range international implications of such a discovery), Ritz rushed to Brittany and scooted around, from fishing village to fishing village inquiring if anyone had seen a tuna anywhere, weighing say, 200 or 300 lbs. No one had seen anything larger than sardines, unless you mean porpoises, until Ritz reached Lannion, a small village of Brittany, where he made the acquaintance of a medical doctor and true scientist named Dr. Miroux.

Dr. Miroux had seen tunas off the coast which the fishermen were foolish enough not to recognize except as a menace to their sardine nets. Ritz and the doctor went fishing off the coast, Ritz with a line and sardines for tackle, the doctor with a harpoon.

Along comes a giant tuna and the doctor lets go at her. It's a hit! Down into the tuna's flesh goes the arrowlike harpoon, with the doctor on the end of the long rope to which the instrument is attached. Off goes the tuna in a rage, pulling the doctor—well, they managed to catch him by the feet. And the doctor caught the tuna, which weighed 300 lbs.

The significance of the incident is as follows, Mr. Ritz said. Until now the World Championships for Tuna Fishing have been held off Nova Scotia, with teams from many nations contending. In 1939 the French and Belgian teams were stranded in Nova Scotia when the war broke out. Now, *tant pis* for Wedgeport, Nova Scotia (former fishing mecca). The fishermen will all come to France and save the Fourth Republic.

French believe big game fishing off Brittany may attract tuna sportsmen who used to go to Nova Scotia.

WORLD FILES

On this and succeeding pages, the UNITED NATIONS WORLD *presents an exclusive feature that is both an innovation in magazine publishing and a valuable guide to those interested in and concerned with international affairs. Every month,* WORLD FILES *will bring you a complete and authoritative summary like the one below of all important treaties and other international documents.*

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Period Covered: Dec. 1, 1946—*Jan.* 21, 1947.

1/46 — Constitution for Greater Hesse and Bavaria

Approved by popular vote, Dec. 1.

1. Both constitutions guarantee freedom of press, religion, speech and assembly.

2. Hesse's constitution calls for socialization of basic industries, including mines, electric power and railroads.

2/46 — U. S.-British Pact for Economic Unity of German Occupation Zones

Dated Dec. 2.

Effective date, Jan. 1, 1947

1. The two zones become one economic unit and will pool imports and resources to produce "a common standard of living."

2. U. S. and British Commanders-in-Chief will set up under their joint control the necessary German administrative agencies.

3. Economic planning of two governments aims at self-sustaining economy for the area by end of 1949.

3/46 — U. S.-South African Taxation

Accord, dated Dec. 13.

1. Objective—avoidance of double taxation. Both countries will establish rules of reciprocal administrative assistance with respect to income taxes.

4/46 — United States Aviation Pact with China

Released Dec. 10.

1. U. S. and Chinese airlines receive reciprocal rights of transit and non-traffic stops in each other's territories. U. S. also has right to pick up and discharge international traffic in passengers, mail and cargo at Shanghai, Tientsin and Canton. China may do same at San Francisco, New York and Honolulu.

2. Arranged in accordance with Chicago International Aviation Conference of 1944, pact removes last major obstacle to U. S. round-the-world air services.

5/46 — Argentine-Chile Pact

Dated Dec. 13.

1. Sets up five-year "customs union" and closest economic collaboration between the two countries. Makes mutual trade and financial preference between Argentina and Chile obligatory.

2. Permits free use of each nation's ports by the other.

3. Argentina will receive Chilean coal and metals for President Perón's five-year-plan which includes mobilization of industry for all-out military "defense."

4. Chile receives credits of $150,000,000 for buying Argentine food and for public works and factory building in which Argentina is interested.

BACKGROUND: In this pact, the economic needs of the two countries (Chile's for Argentine food and Argentina's for Chilean iron, copper, coal, nitrates, etc.) overcame obstacles presented by the pronounced differences between the political structures of the two countries. However, the pact inevitably draws Chile closer to Argentina and makes the position of Bolivia and Paraguay, dependent on Argentine food, still tougher.

6/46 — Russian Pact with SCAP on Japanese Repatriation

Signed in Tokyo, Dec. 19.

1. Japanese civilians and prisoners in Russia who wish to go home are to be repatriated at the rate of 50,000 a month.

2. SCAP (Supreme Allied Command in Pacific) will provide shipment.

3. The USSR will deliver the repatriates to Manchurian, Siberian, Sakhalin and North Korean ports for shipment. It will immunize them before embarkation against smallpox, typhoid and cholera and delouse both the home-goers and their baggage.

7/46 — Notes Between Britain and Albania Regarding Incidents in Corfu Channel

Britain to Albania (Dec. 9.)

1. Britain states that on Oct. 22, despite fact that Corfu Channel was demined by international agreement, two British destroyers "in innocent passage" struck mines, suffering serious damage and 44 lives lost.

2. Britain concludes Albanian government either laid minefield or knew it had been laid—in either case a "flagrant breach of international law."

3. Britain demands apology, assurance against any repetition of such incidents, and reparations.

Albania to Britain (Dec. 21)

1. Albanian government rejects charge that it laid mines or was aware

of alleged laying. Such an inhuman act could only come from those wishing to disturb British-Albanian relations . . . "Greek ships and ships belonging to other countries have often transversed Albanian territorial waters without authorization."

3. Albania rejects the demand for apology and reparations.

RESULT. At Britain's request, UN Security Council placed matter on agenda.

8/46 — Armaments Resolution of UN General Assembly

Passed, Dec. 14.

1. To insure that general prohibition, regulation and control of armaments are directed toward the major weapons of modern warfare, and not merely toward minor weapons, Assembly recommended Security Council expedite consideration of reports of Atomic Energy Commission and prepare draft conventions for the creation of an international system of control and inspection of atomic and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction.

2. Assembly specifically instructed Security Council to take into account that control of atomic energy must be organized in such a way as to insure its use for peaceful purposes only.

9/46 — Chinese Constitution

Ratified by National Assembly, Dec. 25. Effective date, Dec. 25, 1947.

1. Has 175 articles.

2. Provides for President, Cabinet and three representative bodies: Legislative Yuan, Control Yuan and large National Assembly.

3. National Assembly will be elected every six years, will elect President and Vice-President and "exercise political powers on behalf of the people." It will eventually be able to initiate laws and hold referenda.

4. Legislative Yuan, or law-making body, is elected mainly on basis of professions and geographical distribution. Will have limited control over the Cabinet (Executive Yuan) and can force it to comply or resign by two-thirds majority.

5. Control Yuan, elected by provincial assemblies, has mainly censorial powers, can impeach officials and make audits. Members elected for six years.

6. President is elected for six years with two-term maximum. He appoints Cabinet chief with consent of Legislative Yuan's president; commands land,

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sea and air forces, and may promulgate laws.

7. Constitution guarantees equality of all persons regardless of sex or party affiliation. It provides for universal suffrage and secret ballot for all men and women. Minimum voting age: 20.

8. It embodies an expression of adherence to the United Nations Charter.

NOTES. National elections will be held before fall. Communist Party refused to recognize the new "illegal" Constitution.

10/46 — Christmas Address by Pope Pius XII

To Sacred College of Cardinals at Vatican.

His Holiness called upon leaders of the world to—

1. Direct all their energies and good will toward ending the "present intolerable state of incertitude," and hasten the coming of a definite peace among all states.

2. Apply all forces of mind and will to give true justice to peace and service of humanity by means of cooperation.

11/46 — Report of UN Atomic Energy Commission

Adopted December 31, by vote of ten to nothing, with Russia and Poland not participating.

1. Provides that in the Treaty on the Control and Inspection of Atomic Energy, the rule of unanimity of permanent members in Security Council shall not apply. No government shall have the power to veto full control or inspection with regard to atomic energy, nor the punishment of a violator.

NOTE. Security Council must approve report before it becomes effective.

12/46 — Exchange of Notes Between USSR and Iran on Oil Question

Released in Tehran Dec.31.

In reply to Soviet request regarding status of pending 50-year oil agreement, Iran said ratification awaits action by the Majlis (Iranian Parliament), "when duly formed."

13/46 — U. S. Declares Hostilities Ended

Dec. 31.

1. With the enemy defeated, and with the United States "together with the other United Nations" now engaged in "building a world in which justice shall replace force," President Truman proclaimed the cessation of hostilities of World War II, effective noon, Dec. 31, 1946.

1/47 — French Government Orders 5% Price Cut

Effective Jan. 2, 1947, the French government of Premier Leon Blum ordered a 5% reduction in all prices. A further cut will be made by March 1.

BACKGROUND: Between October 1945 and October 1946, wholesale prices in France increased some 85%. Retail prices rose similarly but wages went up only 55%.

NOTE: The Blum cut worked. It was the first successful intervention by the French government on prices since the liberation.

2/47 — U. S. Note to USSR on Dairen

Dated Jan. 6.

1. U. S. considers it desirable that Chinese and Soviet governments consider present "unsatisfactory" situation regarding Dairen.

2. Sees no reason for further delay in reopening port, under Chinese administration, to international commerce, under Soviet-Chinese agreement of Aug. 14, 1945.

3/47 — Statement by General Marshall on China

Released in Washington, Jan. 7.

1. Greatest obstacle to peace is mutual suspicion of Kuomintang and Communists.

2. Leaders of the Government view Communist demand for government participation as having a destructive intention.

3. Communists feel government is insincere and intends to obliterate the Communist Party.

4. On side of Kuomintang Government was large group of reactionaries opposed to every effort at conciliation.

5. On the side of Communists were liberals as well as radicals. But many of them believe Communist Party discipline is too rigidly enforced to admit differences in viewpoint.

6. Communist Party propaganda is gross misrepresentation. Kuomintang propaganda is frequently misrepresenting but not nearly as vicious.

7. Efforts to reach a settlement were frustrated by both sides.

8. Dominating military influence on government is deplorable. It accentuates weaknesses of civil administration.

9. Salvation of situation would be assumption of leadership by liberals in government under Chiang Kai-shek.

4/47 — President Truman's Message to Congress, Jan. 6

1. When a system of collective security under United Nations has been established U. S. will be willing to lead in collective disarmament, but until such a system becomes a reality, U. S. must not allow its weakness to invite attack.

2. Agreement on international control of atomic energy between governments must be effectively carried out if it is to be used for constructive purposes and not serve as a threat to peace.

5/47 — Speeches by Secretary of State Byrnes and Sen. Vandenberg at Cleveland, Jan. 11

Byrnes:

1. Better understanding exists in Council of Foreign Ministers and substantial progress was made in the Assembly of the United Nations.

2. The great states have special responsibility and are given it under the Charter of the United Nations because they have the military strength to maintain peace if they have the will to do so.

3. International law must rest on growth of common fellowship. Such is the Act of Chapultepec. U. S. is hoping Argentina will comply with act. Neither the Ambassador nor State Department believe Argentina is complying.

Vandenberg:

1. U. S. must do everything within its power to sustain organized international defense against aggression; to promote democracy and human rights and fundamental freedoms.

2. U. S. has embraced United Nations. UN has its strength and weaknesses, and its weaknesses, mostly in the form of the veto, can reduce the whole system to a mockery. It is much too early, however, to talk of changes in the Charter.

3. Improved relations with Soviet Union are result of U. S. rugged policy of firm but friendly candor.

6/47 — Turkey - Transjordan Pact

Signed Jan. 11.

This treaty of mutual friendship resulted from a four-day visit of King

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Abdullah of Transjordan to Turkey. Abdullah wants friendship bloc including nations of Middle East, North Africa and Pakistan, in India, should it eventuate.

7/47—Peace Treaties with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Finland

Released Jan. 17.

General.

All the treaties—

1. Guarantee civil rights and fundamental freedoms without regard to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. Stipulate that Fascist organizations be dissolved.

3. Include provisions for evacuation of Allied troops.

4. Require that compensation up to two thirds be paid by Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Roumania for damage to Allied property in their territories.

7/47A—Treaty with Italy

1. *Armed Forces.* Limited to following maximum personnel: Army, 250,000; Navy, 22,500; Air Force, 25,000.

2. *Reparations*: $100,000,000 to Russia; $125,000,000 to Yugoslavia; $105,000,000 to Greece; $25,000,000 to Ethiopia; $5,000,000 to Albania.

3. *Territory.* Trieste to become free territory, with governor appointed by UN Security Council and a popularly elected Assembly.

Ceded to France: Little St. Bernard Pass; Mont Cenis Plateau; Mont Thabor-Chaberton; Upper Valleys of the Tinee, Vesubie and Roya; communes of Tenda and Briga.

Ceded to Yugoslavia: All territory east of "French Line"; commune of Zara and adjacent islands; island of Pelagosa and adjacent islands.

Ceded to Greece: Dodecanese Islands.

Ceded: African colonies. Their disposition will be settled by Big Four by February 10, 1948.

4. *Demilitarization*: Italy will be demilitarized to distance of twelve miles from French and Yugoslav borders. Coastal areas of Sicily, Sardinia and Pantellaria will be demilitarized.

7/47B—Treaty with Hungary

1. *Armed Forces.* Limited to following maximum personnel: Army and Navy, 65,000 combined; Air Force, 5,000.

2. *Reparations*: $200,000,000 to U.S.S.R.; $50,000,000 each to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

3. *Territory.* Axis Vienna Award of Nov. 2, 1938 annulled. Frontier between Hungary and Roumania restored to Jan. 1, 1938 status. Czechoslovak-Hungarian border restored to Jan. 1, 1938 status (except for loss of Ruthenia to U.S.S.R. and cession of three villages south of Danube to Czechoslovakia).

4. *Navigation.* Danube to be free and open for navigation by nationals, commercial vessels and goods of all states on footing of equality as to port and navigation charges and conditions for merchant shipping.

7/47C—Treaty with Bulgaria

1. *Armed Forces.* Limited to following: Army, 55,000; Navy, 3,500; Air Force, 5,200.

2. *Reparations*: $45,000,000 to Greece; $25,000,000 to Yugoslavia.

3. *Territory.* Regains Southern Dobruja.

4. *Navigation.* Same as for Hungary.

5. *Demilitarization.* Must partially demilitarize on Greek border.

7/47D—Treaty with Roumania

1. *Armed Forces.* Limited to following: Army, 120,000; Navy, 5,000; Air Force, 8,000.

2. *Reparations*: $300,000,000 to U.S.S.R.

3. *Territory.* Recovers that part of Transylvania lost to Hungary by Vienna award (see treaty with Hungary). Soviet-Roumanian frontier fixed in accordance with Soviet-Roumanian agreement of June 28, 1940 and Soviet-Czechslovak agreement of June 29, 1945 (Bessarabia and part of Bukovina to U.S.S.R. and southern Dobruja to Bulgaria).

4. *Navigation.* Same as for Hungary and Bulgaria.

7/47E—Treaty with Finland

1. *Armed Forces.* Limited to following: Army, 34,400; Navy, 4,500; Air Force, 3,000.

2. *Reparations.* $300,000,000 to U.S.S.R.

3. *Territory.* Russo-Finnish borders established as of Jan. 1, 1941 status except that province of Petsamo goes to U.S.S.R.

BACKGROUND: Completion of these treaties after prolonged debate and controversy at various meetings of the Big Four foreign ministers (London, Moscow, Paris and New York) proved ability of the statesmen to achieve agreement on the most difficult issues. Final terms contain many compromises as a result of concessions on all sides. Chief concessions were made by U.S.S.R on Trieste and freedom of Danube navigation. Toughest compromise: internationalization of Trieste, which satisfied neither Italy nor Yugoslavia.

TRYGVE LIE

(*Continued from Page* 53)

and the Charybdis of the east. When liberation was near for Norway, Lie negotiated the agreement on administration during the liberation period, and he was careful to have it signed simultaneously in Washington, London and Moscow so that there could be no hard feelings as well as no misunderstandings. Relations between Oslo and Moscow have remained cordial, for the Red Army, after helping to liberate Norway, left as soon as possible without any controversy about its departure.

Lie headed the Norwegian delegation to the San Francisco conference at which the Charter of the United Nations was drawn up. He was chairman of Commission III which drafted the sections on its most important organ, the Security Council, with which he now works so closely. From San Francisco Lie went in May 1945 to London with C. J. Hambro, president of the Storting, and arranged for quick shipments of food and clothing to liberated Norwegians. Again his ability as a manager of practical details was called into service.

When the government-in-exile returned to its capital on June 12, 1945, Lie was one of the happy ministers who were cheered by an enthusiastic populace which respected the achievements of its exiled leaders, who were regarded as the most enlightened government-in-exile in England. The Labor Party won the elections of October 1945 by a landslide vote, and Lie became Foreign Minister in the Cabinet of Einar Gerhardsen. He headed the Norwegian delegation to the first General Assembly of the United Nations in London in January 1946 before being elected Secretary-General.

LIE's term of office is five years, and he can be re-elected. He gets a salary of $20,000 a year, tax exempt, and another $20,000 a year for expenses, as well as a house. He lives with his wife and two younger daughters at 123 Greenway North, Forest Hills, Long Island, a 14-room house which used to belong to Albert Phelps Armour, and which the United Nations has leased for him for three years. The elder daughter Guri, 21, studies at Columbia University. Mette, 15, attends a girls' preparatory school. Mette was left behind in Norway by a misunder-

This was not an accident

Any newspaper *should* be proud of such reader response. It is tangible proof of reader loyalty—and it is easily explained.

PM readers *know* that PM wants to get and does get the stories behind the headlines—and presents those stories as only a liberal and progressive newspaper can. PM readers also know a good cause and an honest appeal when they see one. That is why they came through so generously.

But as any reader will tell you, PM features more than the news that is most important—every day. It supplements that news with background and related information which makes the issues and forces crystal clear. The commentators who do this job are men of wide experience and national reputation. They include:

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I. F. STONE—whose stories of his perilous journey with refugees from Central Europe to Palestine attracted world wide attention.

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F. H. LAGUARDIA—former mayor of New York and UNRRA's last director general who writes Sundays as he chooses—of New York, national politics or world affairs.

Under the direction of Editor John P. Lewis, PM will, in '47 do as good a job as it did in '46. If you haven't already found out just *how* good that can be—buy PM at your newsstand or fill in and mail the order blank below, *today*.

PM's Appeal Gets $210,000, Saves Hospital

This ought to be called "How a Little Newspaper Saved a Big Hospital," the newspaper being New York's *PM* and the hospital Sydenham, the country's only inter-racial voluntary hospital.

Faced with the alternative of raising $300,000 or closing down, Sydenham, which serves the 500,000 people of Harlem, appealed to PM for help, and PM picked up the ball.

Between Thanksgiving Day, when the first story about Sydenham appeared in PM, and New Year's Day, 10,000 letters had come in from PM's readers, all containing money ranging from crumpled dollar bills to checks up to $1,000. Many letters, while signed by individuals, stated that the attached checks represented two to fifty persons.

As for money, PM's readers dug down for about $210,000 of the $275,000 raised by the first of the year, and the balance of the contributions was directly attributable to PM's appeal.

What's particularly unusual about the story is that PM went about the campaign with only a direct appeal to its readers—no gimmicks, no parties, no luncheons, no rallies with big names.

Sydenham is in Harlem, and its staff of Negro and white physicians, nurses, technicians and general employes ministers to patients of all races and creeds. The slogan is: Pain knows no color.

Three days before Thanksgiving, Sydenham's future seemed bleak. It had been struggling along under a $300,000 deficit, left in great part as an inheritance from the previous administration before it became an inter-racial hospital. It looked like the jig was up. The ambulance service was to be closed down, and next to go were to be part of the wards, the clinics and the emergency service.

In desperation, Director David M. Dorin called up PM Reporter Gene DePoris and put his cards on the table. He said the Sydenham would be finished unless the hospital could get some money—but quickly.

DePoris discussed Sydenham's plight with PM Editor John P. Lewis, who decided to open up with both barrels to get the hospital over the hump.....

EDITOR & PUBLISHER
JAN., 4 '47

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standing during the flight of the government in 1940 and spent four years under German occupation living with an aunt in Oslo, before the underground could get her to London. There were some fears for her safety because of her father's vigorous broadcasts urging resistance to the Nazis. Sissel, Lie's oldest daughter, now married and living in Oslo, was secretary to the Norwegian delegation to the San Francisco conference. Guri was secretary to the delegation at the General Assembly meeting in London.

Lie spends a lot of time at home when he can get away from Lake Success, and when he isn't visiting foreign nations. He likes good living, is a connoisseur of wines, and likes to go dancing, to hunt and to play tennis. He is six feet one and weighs 220 pounds. Sometimes he loses as much as six pounds in an afternoon playing tennis, but usually gains it right back drinking beer or water. When he was slimmer and younger, he did some wrestling, and he was active in Norwegian sports unions. He went to Russia to negotiate with Russian sports organizations and got to know the Russian mind, an asset that is useful to him at Lake Success. Lie's reading consists largely of reports. He has the happy faculty of being able to sleep easily no matter how thorny the problems he has encountered during the day.

During Trygve Lie's first year as Secretary-General he has been careful never to side completely with one side or another in some of the thorny disputes that have marked the progress of the UN. Some observers feel that he never will take a strong stand on particular disputes unless violations of the Charter are involved. Lie is always conscious of two things: he is the servant of fifty-five nations, and he has great responsibilities to world public opinion.

Secretary Lie has a passion for technique and detail and he likes the idea that he can switch on a loud speaker in his quiet office and listen to what is going on in the Security Council or any of the other committee or council chambers in session. He takes much personal interest in the site and building problems of the United Nations. Some critics feel that Lie attends to too many details himself and is therefore not free enough to perform the functions of world trouble-shooter and mediator between nations.

Some students of UN feel that, diplomacy today being open diplomacy, it requires an ever alert mediator and conciliator, aggressive enough to take a great deal of initiative and tactful enough to refrain from any semblance of dictatorial manners. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is one of the few men in the world who could fill such a role. Nations now quickly square off as proponent and opponent before the bar of public opinion, and each side makes an effort to get the other in a tight place and make it squirm in public. Some one must bring proponent and opponent together, preferably in advance of an open meeting. To carry out this function Lie would have to get behind the scenes in a controversy at least as soon as it showed signs of becoming one, and, if possible, before then. He would have to spend most of his time talking with delegates, getting their viewpoints, finding out what the real basis of the difficulty is between one nation and another nation, and, either through direct mediation, or by stimulating mediation on the part of other delegates not parties to a dispute, get the two or more nations to resolve their difficulties before they appear in front of the microphones in the Security Council, Economic and Social Council chambers or on the rostrum of the General Assembly.

Despite the reluctance of governments to give Lie their first-rate civil servants, and despite the fact that the staff was recruited hastily, the consensus of opinion is that the Secretariat has done a good job during its first year in active operation.

Bureaucracy has crept in quickly, and Lie himself protested when he found he had to fill in three pages in order to satisfy the paper-work artists when he wanted to take a short trip to Montreal. He also objected to the rule that all letters must be translated into the official working languages of the United Nations, English and French, before delivery, a rule which resulted in a letter to him from Norway taking a month to reach his desk after it got to Lake Success. "But I can read Norwegian," he protested, wringing his hands. Lie's second language is German; his English, which he has used more and more since he became Secretary-General, is not fluent but is adequate; it is his ambition to learn Russian, French and Spanish.

There is no question in anybody's mind that Trygve Lie has three great qualifications for world leadership: he has a thoroughly international viewpoint; he is completely devoted to democracy; and his humanitarianism is outstanding. But Lie is both a practical and a cautious man, as well as an idealist. He does not want to damage his usefulness by speaking out of turn while he keeps a watchful eye on the future opportunities and dangers of mankind.

The world's happiness, and even existence, may depend to a considerable degree on whether this heavy-set, jovial, energetic, careful man who smiles frequently becomes its inspiring leader and at the same time the agile referee of fifty-five nations' complicated affairs. It is, perhaps, too much to require of one human being. But that's the job, and if Trygve Lie can't do it, someone else will some day have to—provided there's still time.

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